



Lord Farnham.



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9525-bbb.9.

A NEW EDITION,
WITH
CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS.

FANATACISM AND TREASON.

PRICE TWO SHILLINGS.

Entered at the Hall.



R
FANATICISM and TREASON:

OR, A DESPASSIONATE

H I S T O R Y

OF THE

R I S E, P R O G R E S S,

A N D

S U P P R E S S I O N,

OF THE

R E B E L L I O U S I N S U R R E C T I O N S

In J U N E 1780.

BY A

Real FRIEND to RELIGION and to BRITAIN.

A curse on the word party!—I wish the present reign may put an
end to the distinction. POPE to Jervas.

A NEW EDITION, corrected and enlarged.

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T H E

RISE, PROGRESS, &c.

THESE are not times, nor is this the place, for parade of introduction or pomposity of reflection. The reader is beginning to peruse a plain, unadorned, dispassionate account of such scenes as are not at present to be found in any history of any country. That they may be recorded, and faithfully recorded, in the history of this country, the subsequent incredible narrative is put together*---as well as that the present spectators

* "Recorded in the history of our country"—for we must not expect to see any thing of *this trifling nature*, and *this innocent complexion*, mentioned by the dignity of the *Annual Register*; since it is a fact, for the truth of which appeal is here made to the *valuable* book itself, that, in the *Annual Register* for 1778, no more mention is made of the infamous 27th of July, than if this country had not on that day been eternally disgraced. We are not even told in the historical part, that the fleets ever met, either handsomely or unhandsomely. In the chronicle part, between the 25th and the 31st of July, the reader only finds the following paragraph. "There is now growing in the garden of Charles Leigh, Esq. of Addington, in Lancaster, a serpent melon, which measures in length five feet two inches and an half. The fruit of this curious plant grew to the above length in fourteen days, and for a week past has continued increasing in thickness."—Yet are the readers told, in the preface to this volume, that "It records

spectators of these convulsions, and those who shall hereafter shudder while they read the account of them, may learn what barbarities a body of men, professing the most peaceable intentions, may commit; and how the mildest religion, in certain hands, may become an engine wherewith to shake to its foundations the mildest government.

Of no feelings nor of any resentments is the writer of this narrative conscious, but of such as must at this moment be experienced by every individual who boasts the name of Englishman. Even those resentments and those feelings, if supposed to be a little roused by family situations of no common sort occasioned by these tumults, are in some measure laid asleep by an obstinate illness which will hardly allow him strength to relate that suppression of the savages, to which he would so willingly have contributed at the utmost hazard of his property and his existence.

It will not immediately occur to the mind of every reader that he, who would thoroughly comprehend the danger of the late troubles, must travel back near a century and a half---must for a moment turn to former troubles, which, though far more serious in their consequences, were, at the instant, much less alarming perhaps than those whereof we have been unhappy

“ matters in which they are all concerned. No man, nor no” [an *Englishman* would probably have written *nor any*] “ station can be free from their consequences.” The preface modestly concludes with observing what cannot be denied by *no* reader, that the *Annual Register* for 1778 “affords an unquestionable testimony to the public, that “ neither the zeal nor the industry of the author are slackened by their “ favour.”

spectators,

spectators, whereby so many have been wretched sufferers. He who means faithfully to relate the evils of the present day, must not be quite so summary in the execution of his work as the misguided populace, whose horrid performances he sits down to describe. The reader wishes to hear of causes before he is told of effects. To learn the reality of the imminent danger which popular tyranny so lately suspended over this country by the single, trembling hair of Dionysius, we must know the real power of that popular cry---“No Papists! No Popery!”

*Quæ sidera, excantata voce Theffalâ,
Lunamque cælo deripit.*

The period to which we must go back, is the reign of our first Charles; and, in that reign, to the beginning of the commotions.---It may be worth observing, that all historians who lived near that age, or, what perhaps is more decisive, that all authors, who have casually made mention of those public transactions, still represent the civil disorders and convulsions as proceeding from religious controversy; and consider the political disputes about power and liberty as entirely subordinate to the other. The distempered imaginations of men were agitated with a continual dread of Popery. The fanatical spirit, let loose, confounded all regards to ease, safety, interest; and dissolved every moral and every civil obligation. Never was there a people less corrupted by vice, or more actuated by principle, than the English, during that period: never were there individuals who possessed more capacity, more courage, more public spirit, more disinterested

zeal. The infusion of one ingredient, in too large a proportion, had corrupted all these noble principles, and converted them into the most virulent poison *.--- And are we, of the present day, proof against the same diabolical ingredient? Is humanity altered since the fanatical days of Cromwell? Shall not we guard against the same poison, symptoms whereof have already discovered themselves still more virulent? A few plain facts---and no man can doubt about the danger from which we have escaped; or about the necessity of our watching, night and day, over the embers, till every the *most minute* spark shall be extinguished.

Oliver Cromwell, in 1629, complained to the house, of one, who, he was told, preached flat popery†. Pym, in the parliament which the king called in 1640, after an intermission of eleven years, among the grievances which he enumerated during a long and set harangue, loudly complained of the suspension of the laws against Papists‡. Among other acts of regal, executive power, which this parliament was every day assuming, they issued orders for demolishing all images, altars, crucifixes. The zealous Sir Robert Harley, to whom was committed the execution of these orders, removed all crosses even out of streets and markets; and, from his abhorrence of that superstitious figure, would not any where allow two pieces of wood or stone to lie quietly over each other at right angles§. Among the daily alarms by which

* Hume, (4to ed. 1770) ch. 55 and 56.

† Rushworth, vol. 1. p. 655. Parl. Hist, vol. 8. p. 289.

‡ Clarendon, vol. 1. p. 133.

§ Hume, ch. 55. Whitlocke, p. 45.

the terrors of the public were kept alive, they understood that meetings were holden by the Papists in immense caves in Surrey : they were assured the Papists had entered into a plot to blow up the Thames with gunpowder, in order to drown London and Westminster. § When Charles imprudently went to the house in person to demand the members whom he had imprudently accused, this unparalleled breach of privilege, as it was called, was still ascribed to the bloody counsels of Papists. || When Charles, apprehensive of danger from the enraged multitude, retired to Hampton Court ; in order further to excite the people, the expedient of petitioning was renewed. The petitions from the apprentices and porters warned the house, like all the other petitions, of the danger of religion.* A brewer's wife, followed by many thousands of her sex, brought a petition to the house, wherein the petitioners expressed their terror of the Papists. † After the commons had prevailed upon Charles to displace Sir John Biron, whom he had appointed governor of the Tower, and to bestow the command on Sir John Conyers, they made a fruitless attempt, in which the peers refused their concurrence, to give public warning to the kingdom to put themselves in a posture of defence against the enterprises of Papists and other ill-affected persons. ‡ Finally, the county of Stafford, in a petition to the house,

§ Sir Edward Walker, p. 349.

|| Hume, ch. 56.

* Rushworth, vol. 5, p. 462. Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 412.

† Hume, ch. 56.

‡ Nalson, vol. 2. p. 850.

house, expressed such dread of an insurrection among the Papists, that every man, they said, was constrained to stand upon his guard, not even daring to go to church unarmed. §

The great courage and conduct, displayed by many of the popular leaders of those days, have commonly inclined men to do them, in one respect, more honour than they deserve; and to suppose, that, like able politicians, they employed pretences which they secretly despised, in order to serve their selfish purposes. It is, however, probable, if not certain, that they were, generally speaking, the dupes of their own zeal. Hypocrisy, quite pure and free from fanaticism, is perhaps as rare as fanaticism entirely purged from all mixture of hypocrisy. So congenial to the human mind are religious sentiments, that it is impossible to counterfeit long these holy fervors, without feeling some share of the assumed warmth: and, on the other hand, so precarious and temporary, from the frailty of human nature, is the operation of these spiritual views, that the religious ecstasies, if constantly employed, must often be counterfeit, and must be warped by those more familiar motives of interest and ambition, which insensibly gain upon the mind. This, indeed, seems the key to most of the celebrated characters of that age. Equally compounded of fraud and of ardour, these pious patriots talked perpetually of seeking the Lord, yet still pursued their own purposes; and have left a memorable lesson to posterity, how delusive, how destructive, that principle is by which they were animated. ||

§ Dugdale, p. 89.

|| Hume, note to ch. lvi.

Thus much concerning the gradual effects of the cry of "No papists, No Popery!" in 1640, and in the following years. What it finally effected in January, 1649, every reader knows. However some may think that Charles even deserved his death, few, could those times return again, would wish to have the same scenes again take place. Notwithstanding the *suave mari magno* of the poet, no prayers were ever yet offered up for a storm, but by those savages who watch for the plunder of the wreck.

They who review these distant scenes, and compare them with what they have seen during almost a whole week in the present month of June, will not very patiently endure any zealot of faction who shall hereafter talk about appeals to the people on any subject---least of all, on subjects of religion.

For let us turn our eyes to the effects of this magic cry among us even now: now when this country has received the additional polish and improvement of almost an hundred and fifty years, added to the experience and recollection of what this incantation formerly produced.

The writer's motives for putting together this little history have already been mentioned. He means to relate facts; inferences he leaves to be drawn by others. In stating facts, he will collect them from a narrator who at least is popular, is patriotic. From the parliamentary debates of Almon, the parliamentary facts will be collected.

On the 13th of April 1778, upon the debate occasioned by Sir P. J. Clerke's bill to restrain members

of the house from being concerned in any contract, Lord George Gordon accused Lord North of having offered his brother a place of a thousand a year to prevail upon him (Lord G.) to vacate his seat. Lord George wished Lord North to save his country and his own life, and to turn from his wickedness and live--- it was not yet too late to repent; the public clamour for revenge was not yet raised against him.

On the first of May, the Roman Catholic peers and commoners of Great Britain, observing the lenient spirit and liberal temper of the times, presented an address, the most decent and most manly perhaps that ever approached the throne. It stated that with patience they had long acquiesced under the rigorous arm of the legislature; that they had thankfully received such relaxations of the laws respecting them, as the mildness of an enlightened age, and the benignity of his majesty's government had gradually produced; that they submissively waited, without presuming to suggest either time or measure, for such other indulgence as those happy causes could not fail, in their own season, to effect. This address was signed by the Duke of Norfolk, the Lords Surrey, Shrewsbury, Linton (for the Scotch), Stourton, Petre, Arundel, Dormer, Teynham, Clifford, and by 163 commoners. Small as was this number of subscribers, they would have thought it indecent to attend their address in a body. It was presented by two English peers and a Scotch one. ---Surely 163 Roman Catholic commoners, 9 Roman Catholic lords, and 1 Roman Catholic duke, did not compose that formidable army of heretics against whom

Lord

Lord George assembled his 40000 men! Yet a stranger might suppose that few Roman Catholics of any weight would, on the first of May, omit to sign an address to the king, which was evidently intended to pave the way for a motion in the House of Commons at the distance of no more than thirteen days.

For it was on the 14th of May that Sir G. Savile moved for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of certain penalties and disabilities inflicted by an act of W. 3*; and, among other arguments dwelt upon this very address. The motion was seconded by Mr. Dunning in loud and pointed language.

The Attorney General (Thurlow), with his usual manliness of understanding, spoke plainly and firmly. He did not wish to oppose the bill. But he wished the house to proceed cautiously. He divided the object of the bill into its proper heads, and begged the house to consider well the principles upon which the laws on each had been enacted, to make one consistent law. Particularly he thought the repeal of the penalties against popish priests who should exercise their functions required some consideration†.

* 11 and 12 of W. 3, intituled "an act to prevent the further growth of Popery." It was artfully and successfully argued with unthinking men that to take away what was designed to prevent the growth of any thing is to encourage its growth.

† This speech, though much more to the purpose than the prepared harangues of the father and the godfather of the motion, the impartial Annual Register does not suffer him to deliver. In their account of this business, the reader does not find the name of the Attorney General Thurlow.

Notwithstanding this speech, which surely should have exempted the speaker from the fury of a religious mob, these very mobs were preparing to attack his house, notwithstanding he was raised to the dignity of Lord Chancellor, notwithstanding sickness had disqualified him both from resisting and removing.

Lord Beauchamp closed the debate by a warm speech in support of the motion. A bill was accordingly brought in, which passed without a single negative---without even the negative of him who has since set the firebrand of faction to every part of London, and to many parts of the kingdom, in order to procure a repeal of that act which he did not think it necessary to oppose *. Forty thousand men are to force parliament to undo what the individual who heads them might perhaps, by a few words at the time, have persuaded parliament never to have done.

The effect of the act † is solely to repeal so much of the 11th and 12th of W. 3, as relates to the apprehending or prosecuting of Popish bishops, priests or Jesuits; to the imprisoning for life of Papists who keep schools; and to the disabling Papists from the inheritance or purchase of lands, in England, Wales or the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed. Nor were these exemptions unconditional. They are only granted to those persons who, within six months after the passing of the act, or coming of age, shall take a certain test prescribed by the act.

* He is even said to have expressed himself in the house in favour of the bill.

† 18 G. III. c. 60.

In the upper house, the second reading of this bill took place on the 25th of May. As this was not a party business, no political connexions mixed themselves as usual with the abilities of the bishop of Peterborough and lowered the strength of them. His noble friend emancipated his eloquence for a quarter of an hour, and he spoke, rather in behalf the bill, as a man, and as a bishop---some may think as a prophet also; for, in the course of his speech, he wished to have seen the bill sooner in the session, that parliament might not only have had time to consider it, but to know the general disposition of the nation before it passed into a law: he held it to be worthy their Lordships' attention not only to look into the real security of the constitution, but to prevent alarms of imaginary danger with which ignorance and malice had theretofore kindled, and might again kindle, such a flame, as the authority of law might find it difficult to extinguish.---But the Marquis of Rockingham and Lord Shelburne, deaf even to their friend's advice, were warm in support of the bill, which was read a second time without further opposition or debate.

Yet, by these Protestant crusaders, neither the Marquis, nor the Earl, nor Mr. Dunning were attacked. But many other lords, who took no part whatever in the bill, were attacked with an apparent intention of putting them to death; but the bishop of Lincoln, who, at the time the bill was passed, did not so much as sit in parliament, bore no higher rank than that of a simple clergyman, was only not torn in pieces like the De Witts in 1672. The only crime of which he could

have been guilty, was being the brother of one of the firmest, manliest characters in the kingdom.

Pause here, my countrymen, for a moment. Consider with yourselves, whether this bill was the source of all the late misrule, uproar, violence, anarchy and confusion.

Hoc fonte derivata clades

In patriam populumque fluxit ?

Perhaps not. Perhaps the torrent, which almost overwhelmed us, flowed from a fountain still more fatal.---Should your opinions lead you to think otherwise, to imagine the invisible spring of these calamities is none other than Sir George Savile's bill---suffer not those very men, who begot, fathered, nursed and reared this very bill, in a few days to accuse ministry of all they themselves have brought upon us. Ministry, as has been shown, stirred not a little finger in the business. It was pushed and hurried on through both houses, with both hands, by men of a different description.

Once more Lord George Gordon calls our attention to his language in the House of Commons.---He, who tells us to-day, that we shall be spectators to-morrow of an event of a particular nature, is more likely (since prophets live not in every street) to have contributed to that event than he by whom it was never mentioned.---Mr. Almon certainly informs us, that, in the debate on the address to his Majesty for the speech from the throne, November the 26th, 1778, Lord G. Gordon held this language in opposition to the address :
 "Will gentlemen answer that the people shall pay more taxes without a revolt at home? I mention the possibility
 of

of a revolt at home, because our constituents have borne much already. They have been patient and long-suffering. They have had a successful example in their fellow subjects of America, who have revolted from the expensive government of England, to the protection of a wise and virtuous Congress. Yet, I see no prospect of a real change, for I do not hear, or know, that the people are about to choose a congress, or to proclaim a protector. When the people show an inclination to demand redress, I will accompany them with the greatest pleasure. I am afraid I speak too loud, so as to give an appearance of passion to what, I assure the house, are my most deliberate sentiments. I hope to see you rise, Mr. Speaker, on the same side, which will reflect honour on yourself, on the house, and on the dignity of the people,---whom God preserve!"---There is indeed, in this speech, a phrase borrowed from religion, and it concludes with a prayer, but he, who should say it contains something else besides religion, would not be a hard man; any more than he, who should think that a few, out of forty thousand men by whom such a declaimer's heels are lackeyed, wish for something else besides a repeal of an obnoxious act of parliament.

On the 10th of December, 1778, Mr. Fox moved the House of Commons to have such Roman Catholics as had subscribed the test contained in Sir George Savile's bill, exempted from paying double land-tax. The motion was seconded by Lord Beauchamp. It was opposed by Mr. Herbert, Sir Grey Cooper, Lord North. Mr. Burke warmly supported it, and Mr.

Fox spoke again with some severity. The question was lost without a division. What said Lord George on this occasion? Not a word. Yet, between the passing of the act and the rejection of the motion, a whole session had intervened. Allow his Lordship to have been taken by surprize at the passing of the bill; a whole session, almost a year, gave time to recover from that surprize, to acquire the use of speech. Why not speak? Why not propose the repeal now? He must be a wise man who furnishes an answer which an honest man can make.

Again, this is not ministry. Ministry, here, not only threw no weight into the Roman Catholic scale, but threw all their weight into the protestant scale; and it preponderated. It was not then the protestant religion which filled Downing-street with blue cockades.---

While the Roman Catholics of England were enjoying the effects of this relaxation of the penal laws in their favour, their brethren of Scotland naturally turned their thoughts to procure a similar relaxation for themselves; a relaxation to which they certainly had an equal claim. But so did not think the Protestants of the North; where Lord G. Gordon is then said to have been, and where perhaps he conceived schemes, the sweets of which we have since tasted.

In 1637, the Dean of Edinburgh was saluted with a cry of *A Pope! A Pope! Antichrist! Stone him!* And the treacherous, the cruel, the unrelenting Philip, accompanied with all the terrors of a Spanish inquisition, was scarcely, during the preceding century,
opposed

opposed in the Low Countries with more determined fury, than was at that period by the Scotch, the mild, the humane Charles, attended with his inoffensive liturgy *.—In the beginning of February, 1779, Scotland set us the example of tumult and violence, and obligingly sent a commander to head us.

The idea of an unlimited toleration of the Romish religion had been artfully made to excite an alarm in the minds of many of the Scotch. The party in the church for this toleration were sanguine, and perhaps unpopular. The party against it had many scruples and difficulties, and were what is called the favourites of the people. The collision in the views of these parties was a source of discontent. It is possible, that the influence of the former had the effect to impose on government with regard to the facility of the measure; it is certain, that the weight and interference of the latter served to heighten the zeal of the populace. Bishop Hay published many treatises and books of controversy.

Whether Lord George was present at these disturbances in Scotland, or not; that he fomented them, that, at the time, he determined to act the scenes over again in England, are facts.

March the 15th, 1779, the Lord Advocate for Scotland having taken his seat for the first time this session, Mr. Wilkes reminded him of a bill for the relief of the Scottish Roman Catholics, which his Lordship pledged himself in the last session to have ready

* King's Decl. p. 23, 24, 25. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 388. Hume, ch. 54.

ready at the beginning of this ; and hoped he was then come down to the house to fulfil his parliamentary engagement. The Lord Advocate said he had consulted the principal Roman Catholics of Scotland, who had agreed it would be better to wait till the present unhappy prejudices against them should be removed. Mr. Wilkes made a warm speech in reply, and observed that the Scottish mobs had set examples of a fatal nature to the mobs of London.---Still, if these parliamentary proceedings in favour of the Roman Catholics have, in the smallest degree, produced the late disturbances, ministry cannot be accused of either proposing or supporting them.

Mr. Burke, on the 18th of March, told the house he had a petition to present from several of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of North Britain. Lord North acquainted the house, that his Majesty recommended it to their consideration. The petition gave an account of their late sufferings and persecutions, begged they might be taken into the protection of the house for their future safety, and humbly entreated some compensation for their losses. Mr. Burke, Lord Beauchamp and Mr. Fox spoke in favour of the petition ; Lord G. Gordon against it. His Lordship had now formed his party in Scotland ; Scotland had now furnished him recruits for England. Lord North said he preferred voluntary before compulsory compensation ; he understood all due recompence was intended by the magistrates of the different districts wherein the mischiefs were committed ; he thought it prudent to defer any further proceedings
'till

'till the result of their measures should be known; and he moved the previous question, which was carried without a division.---So that, from the first to the last step, either attempted to be taken or really taken by parliament, in favour of the Roman Catholics, no one is to be ascribed to ministry.

On the 5th of May, 1779, the house, having dispatched a great deal of private business, was preparing to rise, when Lord G. Gordon surprized them with a speech respecting the disposition of Scotland, which he described as ripe for rebellion; he affirmed that the inhabitants fit to bear arms, a few Roman Catholics excepted, were ready to resist government; and that they had invited him to be their leader---that they would prefer death before religious slavery, and perish with arms in their hands or prevail in the contest. His Lordship read two motions; but, not a member, not even Mr. Alderman Bull, was shameless enough to second them. They will not disgrace the journals of the house.

On June 2, 1779, Lord G. Gordon triumphantly informed the house of the victory the kirk of Scotland had lately gained over Popery. On that day twelve-month a victory, as signal, and yet more disgraceful, was gained by Lord G. Gordon's blue cockades over Law, Religion, and Humanity.

At what precise time the fatal idea of acting the Scottish tragedy in England (with the addition of scenes still more bloody), and of being himself the hero of the piece, first entered into the wild, but dangerous, head of Lord G. Gordon, it is not very possible,

fible, and, were it possible, it is not necessary, to know. Of the consequences no one doubts. We can believe our eyes when they see the dwellings of harmless individuals, and the buildings set apart for the confinement of malefactors, and the mansion of one of the first law officers in the kingdom, consumed by intentional conflagration---when they behold, and behold with gratitude, those soldiers patrolling our streets, by whom alone our properties, our lives, our country have been preserved. The peaceable inhabitants of London have not yet forgotten the mental hell with all the torments of which they were tortured for almost a week.

It is probable, however, that the idea was first taken up, in the course of the year 1779, when his Lordship could not but observe the effect a cry of religion had upon the populace of Scotland. Fewer abilities, than those (unhappily for this country) possessed by Lord G. Gordon, might discover that what had collected and inflamed a number of people in one part of an island, would collect and inflame a number of people in another part.

At the motives for Lord George's conduct, the writer of these pages has too much decency and too much humanity even to guess. They, with other matters, remain for the insulted justice of an injured nation. Let him, by whom we have all so dearly suffered, be still treated as a fellow-creature, as a fellow-countryman. Lord George Gordon cannot be prejudged by relating simple facts.---The wretch, who has escaped from the ruins of a wreck, may surely be allowed, even
by

by the spirit of darkness who conjured up the winds, the melancholy consolation of describing the approach of the tempest, his feelings while it lasted, and the mode of his escape.

By looking carefully over the public papers, a minute and most edifying history of the Protestant Association might be got together----how the egg was carefully hatched and hatched and hatched, 'till, at last, it produced the serpent---how they first met in allies, then in alehouses and then in halls; 'till, finally, not possessing the secret of Milton's Devils by which Pandæmonium was made to contain them all, they were obliged to assemble under the wide cope of heaven. But the writer has no more inclination to go through such drudgery, than the reader to peruse the produce of it.

Every man's memory can inform him of the industry with which the Protestant Association has been nursed during more than fifteen months. Whole columns of newspapers have been filled with their resolutions: every diuretic hole and corner of our streets has been papered with their hand-bills. One of their meetings, holden at the Old Crown and Rolls in Chancery-lane four or five months since, the writer of this narrative attended. It had been postponed on account of the death of Lord George's mother. On the day of the meeting, the Dutchess of Gordon had not been dead but one short week. The room, though large, was considerably too small for the assembly. There did not appear to be a single individual among them, who bore the appearance of any thing like a gentle-

man, except the few who were led thither by curiosity. The business of the meeting was to agree on the terms of the petition, to open a *subscription*, and to appoint a deputation who should wait upon Lord North to request his support. The hair of the President, lank, without curl or powder, in the precise form of antient puritans---his mild, quiet, calm tone of voice (for that evening, at least)---his deep mourning---the recollection of the recent cause of his mourning---an artful glance at the cause of it in the few words his Lordship said : all these circumstances could not fail to affect such a meeting when they beheld and heard such a man, who, for the purpose of forwarding the public cause of religion, had, in some measure, neglected the duties of private affection, and deserted the tomb which had hardly closed over the corse of her who bore him. An indifferent person, inspired neither by enthusiasm nor by treason, could not be without his feelings. Had matters been riper for execution, it was a moment for a Cromwell, with the waving of his hand, to have overturned an empire. Notwithstanding what we have seen, and what too many of us have experienced, the assembly, the holy army, in St. George's fields, would have been worked up to a pitch still more fatal, if possible, to this country, had the mother of their general died at the latter end of May.

The schemes of Lord George were much forwarded during the year 1779, and the five past months of the present year, and the mischiefs primarily caused by those schemes were not a little occasioned, by the spirit

rit for public speaking, which has for some years kept open a certain number of debating societies, and which has lately become the marking features of the times. It was possible to forward these schemes at speaking clubs where religion was not suffered to be discussed: but debating-clubs have, for some years, been open on Sunday nights for the professed purpose of religious arguments. At one alehouse in particular, nearly opposite St. Martin's church in the Strand, the author of this has, more than once, paid his fourpence, and heard harangues about the merits of the Protestant and the Roman Catholic religions (for that was almost always the subject about which they began to debate, or into which they digressed) that he little thought were ever to end in ruin, massacre and desolation. Within these few months this society may have passed away, for any thing the writer knows. But every reader knows, that its place has been supplied by many other societies, and religious ones too, so much more dangerous by how much more they have been frequented. Of these places the adherents to Lord George have certainly all along taken their advantage. No less, certainly, have men of another description inflamed the minds of people at these meetings---miscreants, either procured by opposition, the members of which saw that, when Lord George's frenzy should be at the highest, it might be the moment to overthrow the ministry; or inspired by the treason of the Americans, or bribed by the money of France or of Spain, to all of whom it must have been manifest, that Lord George, whatever were his own views, might

might become an instrument which would, more than possibly, enable them to overthrow this country.

Upon these debating societies, whether religious or not, these fruitful nurseries of idleness, impiety and treason, it is, now at least, become necessary for government to keep a jealous eye *. Every frequenter of them has been accustomed to depart, convinced that the faithful were to look for the coming of a Cromwell; even female orators have experienced the instigations of the spirit; and the harmless apprentice, the weigher of figs or the measurer of ribbon, whose soul, nailed, like a bad shilling, to his master's counter, could not soar so high as treason, still passed the night in rehearsing harangues which began with ---"Mr. Speaker"---and wasted the day (the property of his master) in considering what party he should support when he should take his seat in the house.

During all this time Lord George's language in parliament can have escaped no person who has attended to the debates; and must, beyond a doubt, have served to encourage the enemies of our country. Enemies, who, it is repeated, must be divided into men inflamed and spirited up by opposition for their own views and purposes, by frequent talk, during a course of nine or ten years, in the very temples of the constitution, of appeals to the people; and men either in the interest or in the pay of America, France or Spain. These traitors, without seeing far, saw

* The same Societies exist in Scotland, and have been abused to the same purposes. The capital one at Edinburgh is misnamed "The Pantheon." A different and a better name is obvious.

plainly

plainly that a man who would voluntarily expose himself by language and by conduct, at once so daring and so ridiculous, who seemed to have put away from him all sense of shame, and all fear of danger, was the man to heat the iron of insurrection for those who wished no more than the ruin of the ministry, and the iron of rebellion for those who desired the ruin of the nation; saw plainly that they had, none of them, any thing more to do, than to take care their different adherents and hirelings stood ready and properly armed to hammer the irons, before they should cool, into the wished-for shapes.

It is a fact, as the writer believes, that an officer, who came over in the same ship which brought the important intelligence of the surrender of Charles Town to the active and the gallant Clinton, told his friends that the American rebels, when he left the country, were only kept together by the promise of assistance from France and Spain, and by the assurance that London and its inhabitants would very soon be destroyed in an insurrection. This might, it is true, have been only a prophecy hazarded at the moment, without the most distant prospect of completion, in order to rouse the minds of a deluded and despondent body of rebels. We remember, four or five years since, when they were taught to believe that Mr. Alderman Wilkes was encamped on Blackheath with an army big enough to eat up London.---Such a report, however, universally prevailing, shews the good disposition of the Americans. It certainly had such an effect on the officer's mind, who is not accustomed

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to pin more faith upon reports than other men, that, when he was asked if it did not surprize him to find the metropolis in such confusion and distress? He immediately answered, No; for he expected to see something very much like it.---

The artful, insinuating, dangerous language in which the advertisements of the Protestant association were drawn up, may be gathered from a perusal of what follows. This, and many others, coined at the same mint, appear rather to bear the image and superscription of Oliver's fanatical days, than of an age which, till the second of this month, we fondly persuaded ourselves deserved the epithets of liberal and philosophical.

“ This is to give notice, That, in compliance with a petition addressed to the President, the Committee have resolved that there shall be another general meeting of the Protestants before the London petition is presented to the House of Commons.

“ The petition will not be presented this week, but will be kept till towards the close of this session of parliament, to give time for similar petitions from other parts of England, Wales, and Scotland, to be presented before it.

“ All the true friends of Great Britain, and of civil and religious liberty, are exhorted to unite in support of the Protestant interest before it is too late; for unanimity and firmness in that glorious cause can alone protect us from the dangerous confederacy of Popish powers. If we unite, like one man, for the honour of God, and the liberties of the people, we may yet experience the blessing of Divine Providence on this kingdom, and love and confidence may
again

again be restored amongst brethren. But if we continue obstinate in errors, and spread idolatry and corruption through the land, we have nothing to expect but division among the people, distraction in the Senate, and discontent in our camps, with all the other calamities attendant on those nations whom God has delivered over to arbitrary power and Despotism.

Welbeck-street,
London, May 8.

G. GORDON, President.

“ Those of London and its environs who wish the repeal of the late Popish Bill, are desired to sign the Protestant Petition, which they may have access to at the President’s house in Welbeck-street, every day before four o’clock.”

Matters now began to grow here (what we have heard Lord George tell the house they were, at the time he spoke, in Scotland) ripe for insurrection. On the evening of the 29th of May 1779, a meeting of the Protestant association was holden at Coachmakers-Hall. At seven, Lord G. Gordon took the chair; when he harangued the assembly, concerning the effects produced by the Scotch tumults, and respecting his own determination to go all lengths with them, in such language as the writer thinks it would be neither decent nor candid to mention in this place. His Lordship concluded with moving that the whole body of the Protestant association should attend him in St. George’s Fields on the Friday following, to accompany him to the House of Commons with their petition. This was carried with the greatest applause; and Lord George is said to have finished with telling

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them,

them, that, if fewer than twenty thousand Protestants attended him on the Friday, he should conclude he had been deceived with regard to the general wish of the people, and should not think of troubling the house with the petition.

Whether Lord George had his views for appointing St. George's Fields as the place of rendezvous, it is not possible to say. If there were any men, as there certainly must have been some, among his Lordship's followers, hurried away by the impetus of honest but misguided enthusiasm, it will not surely be deemed whimsical to say, the ardour of their enthusiasm was not much cooled by assembling in fields called after a saint by whose name their leader was christened. A mind, not very weak, might surely, from this circumstance, couple the idea and the spirit of martyrdom with its religious apprehensions.

With whatever view, St. George's Fields was the spot appointed for their meeting; and the following advertisement, which, from the evils it occasioned, few readers will peruse without a shudder, appeared in the papers of the 30th of May.

PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION.

WHEREAS no hall in London can contain FORTY THOUSAND MEN;

Resolved, That this Association do meet on Friday next, June 2, in St. George's Fields, at ten o'clock in the morning, to consider of the most prudent and respectful manner of attending their Petition, which will be presented the same day, to the House of Commons.

Resolved,

Resolved, for the sake of good order and regularity, That this Association, on coming to the ground, do separate themselves into four distinct divisions, viz. the London division, the Westminster division, the Southwark division, and the Scotch division.

Resolved, That the London division do take place upon the right of the ground towards Southwark, the Westminster division second, the Southwark division third, and the Scotch division upon the left---all wearing blue cockades in their hats, to distinguish themselves from the Papists, and those who approve of the late act in favour of Popery.

Resolved, That the Magistrates of London, Westminster and Southwark are requested to attend, that their presence may overawe and controul any riotous or evil minded persons, who may wish to disturb the legal and peaceable deportment of his Majesty's Protestant subjects.

By order of the Association,

London,
May 29, 1780.

G. GORDON, PRESIDENT.

About this fatal advertisement much will now be said. When the evil is overpast, he is a singular man who does not know how it might have been prevented. After the ramparts have been scaled in the night, the meanest individual in the garrison can ask why that part of the fortifications was not better defended. Here, however, there appears to have been something obvious and striking. Those christian days of meekness and goodwill, of brotherly love and all charitableness, are not yet arrived, when forty thousand Englishmen, with blue cockades in their hats, can

assemble peaceably, for no other purpose than to meet and kiss each other in the streets. This advertisement was in the possession of the public, and consequently of government, from the morning of the 30th of May to the time of the meeting which it announced on the 2d of June---three whole days and three whole nights.

“ It is true,” exclaims a reader who calls himself a patriot, “ most true---and are such men to be trusted “ with the government of a country ? Why was not “ notice taken of it in the house ? Why was not “ Lord George taken into custody ? Why was not a “ proclamation published forbidding the assembly ? “ Why was not the soldiery ordered to London ? “ Why was not the soldiery, or, at least, why were “ not peace officers, placed in St. George’s Fields, on “ the second of June, to disperse the first appearances “ of a mob ? ”

Sir, your questions are rather numerous, and rather quickly put ; yet one word will answer them all---
OPPOSITION. Granted, that, of the steps, about the neglect of which you question, some might undoubtedly have been taken. Granted, that government must have foreseen mischief.---Nay, it is a fact, that a gentleman, who came to England within these few days, was in a French coffee-house not long before he went on board, where an English paper was produced containing Lord G. Gordon’s advertisement. A Frenchman, upon reading it, sat down his dish of coffee, fixed his eye on the corner of the cieling, stroked his chin, and, calculating simply upon his knowledge of mankind and of the English nation (the
writer

writer does not suppose every man he mentions to be concerned in a plot), observed---“ Ah, forty thousand men --then we may expect the news of the destruction of the bank of England in about nine days.”

It shall be granted, if our decisive patriot so please, that the same knowledge of mankind and of the English nation which enabled a foreigner to deliver a prophecy so dreadful, a prophecy that was only not completed; might have inspired ministry with something like prevention, with something like precaution, if not for our sakes, at least for their own. It shall be granted, to fall in with our patriot's ideas, and more he cannot desire us to grant, that government, during the fearful moment of stillness which preceded the earthquake, were undecided, irresolute, timid. And he shall have leave to blame government; when he can point out any set of men, who, in a similar moment, would not have been timid, irresolute, undecided.

But the shaking of William Tell's hand, and his doubt how to hold his bow, and his changing more than once the posture of his body before he discharged the arrow, proceeded not from any apprehension of not being able to hit an apple at a greater distance than that, if hanging on a tree; his sensations were occasioned by the apple's being placed upon the head of his child.---Government had no doubts, could have no doubts, about the possibility, the facility of preventing any meeting in St. George's Fields; but they had apprehensions and fears of opposition, for the sake of their country; and, as opposition have them-

selves

felves shown, just fears and just apprehensions. Had this country not been blessed with such an opposition, it would not have been lately cursed with such convulsions.

Does the reader recollect what was said in the house of commons, a very short time before these troubles, only in consequence of a *report* that the guards were, from apprehensions of a riot, ordered to be in readiness on the 6th of April? Were men who made such an attack upon government likely to come into any scheme to *suppress* riots? Was assistance to be expected in the other house? There, after the riots began, while they were yet raging, opposition accused the very Lords who stood before them (tattered, half-killed instances of the rage of the mob), of having procured that very mob, by whom they, and they only, had been thus treated?

Where is the bold man who would have dared to think of the soldiery as a preventive? Does the reader recollect the spot where the soldiery must have been used? St. George's Fields is tender ground. This Lord George knew. Knowing it, there he determined to rendezvous.---What could three or four dozen of constables have done against forty thousand men?---The King of Prussia is said to have boasted of what he could do here, with his army, and forty or fifty executioners. Had this great man himself, on the 30th of last month, been Frederick Lord North, instead of Frederick King of Prussia, the 2d of June would still have come and found him undecided, irresolute, timid. Tho his personal courage, as it, no doubt,

doubt, did elsewhere, would have forbidden personal apprehension; he must have feared for his country, with which he, and all good men might have fallen--- he must have recollected the frequent threats of opposition concerning appeals to the people---he must have seen the possibility of their making that appeal to Lord George's forty thousand men--- he must have determined to be cautious how he supplied them with an excuse for such an appeal; to be careful not to offend forty thousand men to whom such appeal might be made.

If, after the singular moderation shown by government, and the unexceptionable manner in which government has suppressed the tumults, these movers of mischief, and stirrers of faction, should attack the members of Government, in their usual manner, for conduct, which not only deserves, but possesses, the praises and the thanks of every *real* Englishman; then, my countrymen, you will form your own judgments whether the servants of government have been justly timid. Or, if you think their accusers, instead of having been (more or less intentionally) the promoters of these riots, could have quelled them, or did, any one of them, contribute or endeavour to quell them--- in that case, join the pack in their full cry; follow the object of your scent, whithersoever it may lead you; and, since you have lately had so complete a specimen, stop not, though they should even cheer you on to another *appeal to the people*.

That appeal to the people, the advantages whereof we have experienced, and the effects whereof are now to be related, took place on the 2d of June, agreeable

able to Lord George's advertisement. About eleven o'clock his Lordship found his adherents expecting him in St. George's Fields, with cockades and flags; and keeping up the spirit of enthusiasm by singing hymns and psalms. The mixture of sensations in Lord George's mind, whatever were his real schemes, will not make him envied by any. A gentleman of his Lordship's acquaintance, is said to have called in Welbeck-street on Friday morning, not long before "the acting of the dreadful thing," and to have found him at breakfast. On the table lay his hat, with an immense blue cockade; and near it, a drawn sword.

Lord George, after haranging for a few minutes in language adapted to the occasion, and pointing out what routs they should take, retired in a coach. The assembly divided into three troops, or rather armies---one marched over London-bridge, six a-breast, preceded by the petition borne on a man's head; another over Blackfriars-bridge; another over Westminster-bridge. Between two and three o'clock they were all assembled in the streets and open places near the houses of Parliament.

The business of the day, in the upper house, was a motion of the Duke of Richmond's, upon which their Lordships were summoned. His Grace said, he would proceed in his motion, notwithstanding the tumults at their doors by which many members were prevented from entering the house, because, were all the members present, they would all, he trusted, agree to the bringing in of the bill he should propose. In
prefacing

prefacing the account of his bill, his Grace observed (what, were it ever so true, would have come as properly from so sincere a friend to his country as the Duke of Richmond, at any other time, as in a moment of riot and insurrection) that the present parliament was no parliament at all, since, as their Lordships well knew, it was not a fair and equal representation of the people. To procure a fair and equal representation seems to have been, as far as his Grace explained it, the intention of the bill. The time which was taken up in beginning a speech which promised many hours continuance, and which it was manifest the increasing and outrageous mob must interrupt, might perhaps have been employed to better purpose in proposing some scheme to quell the mob. His Grace's long preface was interrupted by Lord Mountford, who informed the House that Lord Boston was actually in the merciless hands of the rioters under the windows of the committee room.

A mixed conversation ensued --- various steps were hastily proposed --- all were as hastily altered. The greatest council of the greatest nation can only be composed of men --- men must have their fears and apprehensions. The Duke of Richmond spoke in a spirited manner about the act which had caused the riot---declared he had originally supported it, and ever would support it. But this alone was not taking any step in support of peace and order. Had his Grace's speech, thus unaccompanied, got out to the mob, had it been delivered to them, instead of the House, it might indeed have inflamed, it would not much have cooled, their ardour.

Alarms continued --- fresh intelligence was brought concerning Lord Boston. Lord Radnor now proposed that some of the members should immediately go out to the rioters, and endeavour, by their presence, to extricate his Lordship. Lord Townshend offered instantly to be one. With a view, no doubt, of preserving from insult the person of him, whose property was afterwards destroyed by a mob which only came a few minutes too late for his life; the Duke of Richmond in the prime of life, a Colonel of Militia, a Lieutenant General of his Majesty's forces, suggested that the learned Lord on the woolfack, not much less than eighty, whom Lord Abingdon had formerly attacked in print for *not being a soldier*, should head them as a house, preceded by the mace. Lord Mansfield expressed his readiness. But, at this moment, Lord Boston entered the house, in a condition more like one of the rioters than a peer of parliament.

Lord Shelburne now rose in great warmth, but that warmth was not directed against the mob. He demanded to know what steps government had taken to guard against what they must, from the advertisement, have foreseen. Lord Hillsborough informed the House (in the midst of much altercation) that ministry had met upon the subject of Lord George's alarming advertisement; and that the magistrates of Westminster had been warned of the expected mob.

Information was now brought that the riot and the rioters every moment increased. Lord Denbigh proposed sending for the civil power, and, if that should
not

not be sufficient, for the soldiery. Lord Shelburne cried out loudly, "No," to the soldiery, and, either seeing, or fancying he saw a smile on Lord Stormont's countenance, his Lordship accused him of laughing at the commerce of his country on the day before, and now at the *religion* of it. Yet Lord Shelburne voted for the bill. His Lordship proceeded to insinuate, that the existing riots had been occasioned, been brought about, by Government --- and spoke of what he remembered, when in office, respecting a riotous Captain Fall, who had left a will behind him in favour of an officer of the treasury, which plainly shewed--- (what, sagacious reader?) ---that Fall must have been employed by the same government which employs the officers of the treasury, to one of whom he bequeathed his property *. He proceeded to say, this also might be a scheme of the ministry; that, having tried every thing else, they might now have recourse to mobs. He could not help reflecting on some very extraordinary expressions that had lately fallen from persons in office. It had been said, "Though
 " we could not quell the rebellion in America, we
 " can prevent, and we are determined to suppress the
 " efforts of rebels at home." This, and other expressions, added to the known rancour of administration, induced him to believe that the cause of the

The case was that Fall, like many other men, left his fortune to his nearest relation. Had his nearest relation been a French commis, it would of course have proved him a French spy.

present tumult in their lordships hearing, lay much deeper than the bill relative to the Roman Catholics.

A man of observation will keep a steady eye upon every conspicuous character during such moments as that which the writer is now describing; and will form his judgment accordingly, however closely he may treasure up that judgment.

Are expressions to be recollected and to be sifted through the finest sieve? Is the known rancour of a party a just argument against them?---Without any such arguments, without any such proofs, most of Lord Shelburne's countrymen will readily agree with his Lordship, that "the cause" (or, at least, the encouragement) "of these tumults lay much deeper than "the bill relative to the Roman Catholics."

The Lord President justly ridiculed the idea of his having been concerned in procuring a mob to insult and ill-treat himself.---A member, whose speech had been dictated by that rancour of which Lord Shelburne complained, would have been justified in hinting, at least, at the old story of crying out thief first.

The Duke of Richmond was interrupted, in accusing the interior cabinet of the weavers' riots at Bedford-House some years since, by the arrival of the justices, who had already been before the House, and who now declared the mob was too numerous for all the constables they could collect. Some further conversation took place concerning the Duke's Bill; at about nine the House was obliged to break up. It adjourned to the next day.

The

The exact damage that was done to every member's coat, the quantity of powder that was beaten out of every head, the number of blows and bruises that every noble Lord received, no reader is solicitous to learn. There is a kind of dignity about great and national distresses which will not suffer a feeling mind to dwell upon any thing mean and low. When every law divine and human has been insulted, when the constitution itself has been almost trampled under foot, he must have a petty mind, a paltry soul who can stop to relate, or to peruse, an account of the damage done to an earl's vis-à-vis, or of the rage vented upon the shins even of the Lord President of the Council. The principal performances of the insurgents shall be faithfully recorded; but what reader wishes to be told the name of every individual whom they stopped, the instant at which they turned into every particular street, and where they halted to shout "No Popery! Down with the ministry!?"

The Archbishop of York was the first on whom they began to wreak their vengeance. His Grace was vilely insulted. The Lord President (Bathurst), the Lords Mansfield, Stormont, Hillsborough (saved, in some measure, by being in Lord Townshend's carriage, for whom that part of the mob professed respect) --- the Lords Willoughby de Broke, Boston, Ashburnham, St. John, Dudley, and many others, were treated with more or less unmanly brutality. The Duke of Northumberland, in addition to the ill-usage he received, experienced, by the loss of his watch, that every mob is increased by those who seize
this

this opportunity to prey upon their fellow-creatures. A motive, however, less dishonest for joining a mob, than a wish to destroy a country; or to destroy the ministers of a country, at the hazard of burying, under the same ruins which overwhelm them, all their countrymen.---The Bishop of Lincoln (Thurlow), for reasons which it is impossible to guess, hardly escaped with his life. The humanity of Mr. Atkinson, an attorney in Westminster, admitted his Lordship into his house, at the risk of his property and existence; and the Bishop, in disguise, got away over the tops of the houses.

The Commons fared better individually, though, collectively, they were justly under still greater apprehensions than the Lords. Mr. Welbore Ellis was the only member materially ill-treated. The lobby of the House was full of rioters; the House itself was literally besieged. Either from design or from the croud, the door was more than once almost forced open. The moment when Cromwell kicked away the Speaker's bauble, was a moment of shame and disgrace; the present was a moment of personal apprehension, and of every different species of public and of private dread. Lord George, if he did not guide the whirlwind and direct the storm, certainly showed no wishes to see them subside, took no part in endeavouring to steer the tempest-shaken vessel through them. His Lordship's time was employed in going out continually to the petitioners, and informing them what member was upon his legs, and what was saying either for them or against them. While he was speaking to them, one
of

of the many times he went out, he desired the Chaplain of the house, who was standing near him, to tell them with what danger their religion was threatened. The Reverend Gentleman is reported to have said with spirit, he had nothing to tell them, but he would tell his Lordship that every drop of blood spilt in this business would be upon his head. His Lordship's friends, nay his relations, are said to have tried in vain to restrain his rashness by every mode of intreaty, of advice, and even of threat.

Colonel Holroyd is reported to have stopped, at last, these inflammatory visits to the mob by some such remonstrance as this---“ My Lord, at first I “ thought you only mad, and was going to move that “ you might be sent to Bedlam. Now I see there is “ much more malice than madness in the business. If “ you go out, once more to the mob, I assure you, “ upon the faith of parliament, I will instantly move “ that you may be committed to the Tower. And, “ depend upon it, that, the first rioter who forcibly “ enters this house, I thrust my sword, not through “ his heart, but through your's.”---He, who wishes that, in these times, his country should be graced by a manly, determined character, wishes this to be true. The intrepid behaviour of Colonel Holroyd during the tumults, makes such an anecdote much more than possible.

The minds of the gentlemen belonging to the house must, at this alarming moment, have been still more confused than the minds of most other men at any given moment of the tumults. To recollect there-
fore

fore what passed during this confusion, must be a task more difficult for them, than for the generality of people at any given stage of the riots. Yet we should all find recollection sufficiently difficult. That Lord George did not behave less strangely and disorderly than usual, is universally agreed.---He is said to have been asked why he did not originally oppose the bill against which he had now brought an army of petitioners; why, in private conversation in the house at the time, he expressed himself in favour of the bill? His answer was, that he "had not then taken to speaking."---He is said to have told the house, that more than sixty thousand men only waited his beck, to put them all to death, and to make him whatever he pleased.---But in such a time as this, every man we meet is ambitious of having something to tell which has not been told before. To be sure that the anecdote is new, the most effectual way is at once to invent it.

At last Lord George moved for leave to bring up the petition, which he said was signed by near one hundred and twenty thousand names. Mr. Alderman Bull seconded the motion. Leave was given.---He then moved, seconded again by the Alderman, to have it taken into immediate consideration *this day*. An amendment was proposed, *Tuesday next*, instead of *this day*. During the debate (if it could be so called), the mob grew still more clamorous and outrageous, understanding delay was attempted; and Mr. G. Rous, at last, moved for the assistance of the civil power, and Mr. Mansfield recommended calling in the soldiery.

Several

Several magistrates attended, and declared their force insufficient. The messengers were, finally, from absolute necessity, dispatched for the guards: Before the guards arrived Lord George had desired the petitioners to disperse, telling them to trust in God for the accomplishment of their business. The original debate was again resumed, whereupon a division took place. Only six were found so mean as to give their voices for the petition's being taken into consideration this evening---for its being taken into consideration on Tuesday, there appeared one hundred and ninety-two. The house rose between eleven and twelve, and, as Monday was the King's birth-day, adjourned over to Tuesday.

The mob did not adjourn 'till Tuesday. Now began their infernal business.

From the Houses of Parliament they proceeded, notwithstanding Lord George's christian advice that they should put their trust in God, to the Romish chapels, belonging to the Sardinian and Bavarian ambassadors, in Duke-street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and Warwick-street, Golden-square: --- Impartiality must confess that it is possible (though only possible) that the enemies of our country, already enumerated, might have lighted even these first fires of insurrection, at least might have pointed the rage of the mob to light them, with a view to involve us with those powers whom the ambassadors represented. Yet, so connected is the destruction of Popish chapels with the ideas of men who say they assemble to oppose Popery, that he must be a sturdy arguer who can persuade us these

convulsions were not begun at least, in more parts of the city than one, by Lord George Gordon's Protestant petitioners. --- Both the chapels were, in great measure, destroyed, and the furniture taken out and burnt, before the military could arrive. Thirteen of the rioters were taken, and secured in the Savoy. The public flattered themselves the threatening storm was overpast.

On Saturday, June the third, the rioters in custody were examined in Bow-street, and most of them committed. The names of those who gave evidence against them were, by no uncommon imprudence, inserted in the papers. Of this imprudence the consequence will presently be seen. *

This afternoon (Saturday) the outrages of the mob appeared in Moorfields and its neighbourhood. The Lord Mayor was present; but is accused of displaying neither the courage, nor the activity of the chief magistrate of such a city. The Nero of the Mansion-house is said to have calmly smoked his pipe while Rome was burning. During these alarms the House

* The writer takes this opportunity to observe how often he has been struck with the incaution and uselessness of such newspaper paragraphs as this—"On such a day Mr. Such-an-one, of such a number in such a street, was attacked by a footpad whom he boldly resisted, and handled with merited roughness." No one advantage, public or private, can arise from so minute a publication of the name and place of abode. It can only operate as a temptation of no weak nature to the footpad; who, if he possess the same diabolical spirit of retaliation which actuated the late mobs, will take care that Mr. Such-an-one shall resist to less purpose the next dark evening. It is giving revenge a direction to the (at present) unknown individual against whom his rage is roused.

of Lords met in pursuance to their adjournment. The Lord President called the attention of the House to their late disgraceful fall from dignity, went over the history of anarchy and outrage, and moved for an address to his Majesty to give immediate directions for the prosecution of the authors of the tumults. The Duke of Richmond, Lord Shelburne, the Duke of Manchester, the Marquis of Rockingham, told the House they did not disapprove the motion. They all, however, traced the riots, by different paths, to the door of the ministry; all told how judiciously they had quelled mobs when in power; all talked much of the Quebec bill, which was accused of causing, so many years ago, disturbances in June 1780.---Lord Shelburne told the House he had passed through the mob, he had looked in the faces of those who were crying "No Popery! We shall be burnt! Let us have the Protestant religion!" and he saw evident marks of sincerity in their countenances; he saw that they believed what they said, and acted from conviction.---But, as the most perfect skill in physiognomy could not, in a few moments of hurry and confusion, read the disturbed countenances of forty thousand men, it does not immediately follow that "Repeal the Quebec bill" was written in legible characters on the face of every rioter.---The Lord President's motion passed *nem. diff.* A motion of Lord St. John for the dispatches from Sir G. B. Rodney was negatived by a large majority: but after some warm altercation, and some very spirited language from Lord Sandwich; who quoted the observation of Clarendon, that it is a great misfortune

upon a country (which it surely is) when any one sett of men presume to suppose that they alone think with the world, and that all the world think with them alone. Lord Shelburne, in the course of the debate on this question, took occasion to deliver, what he termed a farewell speech to the House; he said a domestic call obliged him to leave the House immediately; and he, most probably, should not return, till matters were riper, and there was a greater likelihood of his speaking there to some purpose.---Every true Englishman must lament that a patriot should be obliged by any private call to withdraw himself from the public council of the nation, at a moment when every thing public and private, that is dear and valuable, was in the most imminent danger.---The Duke of Richmond's bill for annual parliaments, and to *restore* to every subject that right of voting which it has not yet been shown every subject ever yet possessed, was thrown out, after one reading, without a division. Between ten and eleven the House adjourned to Tuesday.

The next day was Sunday, but it shone no Sabbath-day to these lawless rioters. They still continued their devastations in Moorfields, and that part of the city; and every Roman Catholic thereabouts experienced the effects of their fury. The soldiery, after the civil power had called them in, were not used by them. The mob knew the military did not dare to fire without the command of the civil power. The soldiery, seeing they were not to be used effectually, endeavoured to keep upon good terms with those, who might, with impunity, as they did in many places,
pull

pull their noses and spit in their faces.---Hence reports, at the time, as if the soldiery had, in some measure, joined with the mob. The soldiery will do their duty when any one has resolution to order them to their duty. For their patience and forbearance, at more than one stage of these commotions, they deserve every praise.

Monday, June the 5th, in the midst of these fermentations in his kingdoms, was kept at court as his Majesty's birth-day, who on Sunday entered into the 43d year of his age. Early this morning, between one and two, a small part of the mob attacked Sir George Savile's house in Leicester-fields, broke some of the windows, and burnt some of the furniture before the house. The guards were procured; but so little dreadful was the mob, that Sir George is said to have continued in the house during all their fury, and to have slept there after they dispersed. The same morning were destroyed the houses and furniture of Messrs. Rainsforth and Maberly, who had been witnesses against the rioters, and whose names had been so incautiously made public: The mob had given out the day before that they might expect them.

This morning, previous to the drawing-room, a privy council was holden in his Majesty's closet, whereat it was resolved to issue a proclamation, which appeared in Tuesday's Gazette, offering a reward of five hundred pounds to those who would discover any person or persons concerned in demolishing and setting fire to the Sardinian or Bavarian chapels. The same morning were re-examined at Bow-street the thirteen rioters;

rioters ; when three of them were committed to Newgate, whither they were escorted by a party of guards. During this day and night the rioters continued at Moorfields, Hoxton, Wapping, and other parts of the city.

We now approach to scenes in this land of liberty, which an Englishman, the child of freedom, blushes to describe.

On Tuesday the 6th of June both houses of parliament were as effectually beset by blue cockades as on the preceding Friday. The horse and foot guards, however, were properly disposed to protect the members, and no peer or commoner was ill-treated except Lord Sandwich, with whom the mob were very violent and outrageous, as he was going down to the house. His Lordship was extricated with no little spirit by Justice Hyde and some of the light horse. The disappointed rioters immediately dispatched a party to destroy the Justice's house and furniture, which was effected. On this day the courts in Westminster Hall were only opened, for the sake of form, by a Judge belonging to each.

In the house of peers this day, upon the reading of a private bill, Lord Radnor called their Lordships attention to the public situation of affairs ; and observed, that, with such a mob at their doors, their deliberations could not be called free. Much confused conversation took place hereupon, in the course of which Lord Abingdon said (not, surely, with a view to *appease*) that the only way to appease the people was to address his Majesty to dissolve the parliament.

liament. At last, the house was obliged to adjourn to the next day.

In the house of commons, after a little other business, Mr. Buller moved, 1. that the insults offered to members were a breach of the privilege of parliament---2. that a committee should be appointed to discover the authors of the tumults---3. that his Majesty might be addressed to order the prosecution of the rioters already in custody---and 4. that his Majesty should be addressed to order compensation to be made to the sufferers, for which parliament would provide. The motions passed without a division. Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, Sir F. Norton, Mr. Dunning delivered, each of them, a violent harangue; wherein, forgetful of their own perilous situations, ministry, after being accused of causing the mobs as an excuse for using the soldiery, were coarsely attacked for calling in that soldiery by whom alone, at the moment these gentlemen were speaking, all that remained of the dignity of parliament, and the lives of its members were perhaps preserved.

Lord George, who had (yesterday) published a hand-bill from the Protestant association disavowing the riots, and recommending peace and good order, was to-day observed in the house by Mr. Herbert with a blue cockade in his hat. Mr. H. noticed this "ensign of riot and contempt of parliament" publicly to the House in a manner which did him infinite credit; and Lord George submitted in a manner unbecoming the leader of 40,000. A propriety of colouring.

colouring should accompany every different shade of character.*

After such tumultuous conversation as could alone take place at such a moment, it was resolved, on a motion of General Conway, "that this House will, "so soon as the tumults subside which are now subsisting, proceed immediately to the due consideration of the several petitions presented to this House from many of his Majesty's Protestant subjects, and will take the same into their serious consideration." After which, at about six o'clock, the House adjourned to Thursday.

During the sitting of the House, an attack had been made by the mob upon Lord North's in Downing-street; but a party of Light Horse prevented their intentions. On the rising of the House, Lord George Gordon went to the corner of Bridge-street, informed the populace what had been done by their representatives, and advised them to depart quietly to their own houses. In return for such intelligence and such advice, the least they could do was to save his horses the trouble of drawing his carriage. His Lordship was pulled along the streets by his Protestant petitioners, amidst their shouts and acclamations, in compleat popular triumph.

* Lord George is said, however, to possess the *hypocrisy* of Cromwell. Waller, the poet, used to tell of his kinsman that, when any of his enthusiastic friends came to advise with, or to consult, him, he sometimes overheard him discoursing in the cant of the times; but, when he returned, he would say, "Cousin Waller, I must talk to these men in their own way," and resume the common stile of conversation. Lord George is said to have made a greater joke in private of his adherents, than ever Wilkes made of his respectable livery.

After

After they had conveyed their leader whither he wished to go,* they departed to continue their business of extirpating popery and papists. On this night too it was thought politic that the different mobs provided by the different enemies of our country, should, under the sanction of blue cockades, begin their diabolical works. In little more than a night and a day, one of the first cities in the universe was almost destroyed; and the envied nation, of which it is the capital, only not reduced to universal bankruptcy and ruin, and to either democratical or foreign slavery.†

Let us dwell as short a time as the chain of narration will permit upon scenes which must eternally disgrace the annals of our country. Historical regularity is for times of order. It is of little consequence whether the outrages be related in the exact series in which they were committed---whether precedence in destruction be unjustly assigned to this particular house, or to that particular prison.

Too certain it is, that, in the horrid interval between Tuesday evening and Wednesday night, the

* To Mr. Alderman Bull's. There are only two alternatives--- This Mr. Bull must be either a complete patriot or something worse.

† Hereafter this may be deemed exaggeration. They who were eye-witnesses know, that another four and twenty hours might have obliged the writer to word his sentence in a different tense---*fuit illium*. Ten, six, two men might have destroyed the Bank, as truly as two resolute men might have dispersed almost any of the mobs. At a darker period of our history, the universal panic would have been ascribed to witchcraft, and our gallowses would have groaned with old women.—The Bank, it is to be hoped, will in future be constantly guarded.

following shocking, unaccountable violations of all order, decency, law, religion, and humanity, were effected. The house of Lord Mansfield, in Bloomsbury Square, was totally destroyed---they are said to have brought a rope wherewith to have executed immediate vengeance on his Lordship, had they found him---popular fury hardly suffered the naked walls to remain---every thing found in the house was committed to the flames before the door---finally, the wainscot and wood-work, which they were not able to pull down, were consumed by fire--the mob armed themselves with the iron rails which had surrounded the house; and departed (all, but the cool and deliberate ringleaders and directors of this business, inebriated with the contents of the cellars) to execute mischiefs still more fatal to the public; preceded by his Lordship's dinner-bell, by the ringing of which they were to be kept together. Conversation past among them of cutting the pipes whereby the devoted city was supplied with water; * of proceeding to burn Lord Mansfield's villa at Caen-wood; and to destroy the Bank.

The

* The writer asserts (in this second edition) that such a damnable scheme was intended, was attempted. Let any of his readers answer him by whom. Was it by the protestant petitioners? was it by those who wished for plunder? was it by the felons delivered from Newgate? He who is the most distantly acquainted with human nature will be certain that even these last could not possibly entertain any such hellish idea. And is the writer still accused of frightening his readers with phantoms of *foreign* villainy? There are foreigners, there are, it is to be feared, Englishmen, who know they are not phantoms---who have put their fingers into the prints of the nails.

Fawkes

The house and public office of Sir John Fielding; the Ship ale-house, where some Roman Catholics used to meet, near Lincoln's Inn Fields; the house of Mr. Doughty, a Roman Catholic, in Devonshire-street, Redlion-square; of Messrs. Foster, Beavis and Neale, near Little Turnstile, Holborn; of Mr. Lyons, Bunhill-row; of Mr. Charlton, Colman-street; Mr. Cox's house in Queen-street, Lincoln's Inn Fields; and several other private houses, in different parts of the city, were, on Tuesday, for different reasons, destroyed, and (for the mob forced a word into their service to describe their villainies) *gutted* of every thing valuable, which was burnt before the respective doors. The Lord Chancellor's house, notwithstanding his severe indisposition, was only saved by the guards; and the archbishop of York's was only preserved by a maid's telling the mob that her lady was brought to bed in consequence of the fright.

The most serious proceedings of the mob, whereof we shall not for some time cease to feel the effects in our property and our apprehension, still remain to be related. Newgate was beset about eight on Tuesday evening, and Mr. Akerman, the amiable keeper (for a

Fawkes only meant to blow up the two houses of parliament---- Aitken only fired dockyards---in Cromwell's famous parliament it was only proposed (what seems to have been the levelling idea now) that all the records in the Tower should be burnt, whereby all memory of things past might be effaced, and the whole system of life commence anew. It was not 'till June 1780, that an attempt was made to treat the inhabitants of the first city in the universe more inhumanly than many conquerors have ever treated the most obstinate garrisons after an assault.

humane gaoler surely deserves one epithet of praise), was ordered to release the rioters confined there. Had it been possible for Mr. A. to have complied with their demands, the prisons of the city might *perhaps* have been saved. This was impossible; and, in truth, the infernal spirit of national destruction seemed to have so effectually gone forth among the savages, that it is not easy to say what would have satisfied them.

On Mr. A's. refusal, a little boy was lifted up (the method they used to fire all the prisons), who stuck five or six handfuls of tow, dipt in turpentine, upon the door. At the first touch of fire the door was in flames, which instantly communicated. Mr. Akerman and his family escaped, with the greatest difficulty and danger, backwards. His house and furniture, and the first prison in the kingdom, which was hardly (at the expence of 140,000*l.*) completed, and which to a common observer appeared to be built of nothing that would burn, were destroyed by the flames. Every prisoner of every description was turned loose upon the public. They were above three hundred in number. Even three men whom justice had sentenced to the gallows, were released from the condemned cells to merit the gallows a second time by fresh crimes.

The prisoners in the New Prison, Clerkenwell, were, the same night, dismissed by these ruffians from confinement. Regular notices were sent to the other prisons at what time the inhabitants might expect them. Those in the Fleet begged not to be turned out at so late an hour on Tuesday night, and the mob consented to let them move their goods the next morning,

ning, and not to destroy the prison 'till Wednesday evening. That mobs should conduct themselves with a regularity of notice and punctuality of execution, hardly usual in judicial proceedings, is at present unexampled. Mr. Sharp, the amiable surgeon in the Old Jewry, received a letter signifying that the people had the highest respect for his character, that they were sorry for the necessity, but, as his house adjoined to one of the prisons, it must come down, that they might get at the prison---they were sorry, but it could not be helped; and they wished him to move his goods. The association defended Mr. S.'s house, but his lady was frightened into a dangerous miscarriage.

On Wednesday the King's Bench prison, however, the New Gaol, the Borough Clinck, the Fleet, and the Surry Bridewell, were all cleared of their miserable tenants, and demolished by fire. Twelve or fourteen immense conflagrations, in different parts of the desolated and affrighted metropolis, were to be seen raging at the same time, licking up every thing in their way, and hastening to meet each other.

On the same day the toll-houses and gates on Blackfriars-bridge; the watch-houses in Kent-street, and near St. George's church; suffered the same fate---As did the house, and stock in trade (to the amount of more than 50,000*£*.), of Mr. Langdale a Roman Catholic, a distiller of respectable character at Holborn-bridge; and some houses, where he kept some materials of his distillery, and where his son resided, near Fetter-lane in Holborn. The flames by which the premises and spirits were consumed, communicated to the

the still more innocent neighbourhood (Mr. Langdale was criminal in being a Roman Catholic), and did considerable damage in both places. A detachment of the Northumberland militia, as well as Colonel Holroyd who attended them, deserve no common praises for their coolness, humanity, and intrepidity. They were under the necessity of firing; but many more, both women and men (as the ruins have every day discovered), perished by the effects of the destructive liquors upon their feverish and inflamed bodies, than by the merited vengeance of the soldiery.---

This is the melancholy list of the principal mischief effected by the rioters---much more was done of less magnitude; and much more, of the utmost consequence, was threatened. They talked publicly of burning every building of distinction; in short, of destroying the whole metropolis, so that the place thereof should be no more found. The Mansion-house, the Museum, the Exchange, the Tower, the Bank, were particularly marked; and every precaution was taken to defend them. The Bank and the Poultry-compter were attempted. Government sent for all the soldiery to London, who were within call. Every soldier was ordered upon duty. In two or three places, there was an absolute necessity to order them to *do their duty*; and they did it. Some lives were undoubtedly lost; but, compare the number of guilty sufferers with the number of the mob, or with the number of those innocent people who suffered by the mob.

In times when the worst of men scruple not to act the worst of crimes, an honest man may surely be allowed

lowed to speak his honest sentiments. That individual, whether a duke or a drayman; a peer of parliament, a member of the house of commons, or his Majesty's meanest subject; who shall hereafter dare to insult our understandings and our eyesights by declaiming against government for using the soldiery, whose forbearance we have seen, and by whom alone we and our country have been preserved, must be either altogether devoid of common sense, or be an enemy to his country of the blackest dye.----Lay your hands upon your hearts, my countrymen, and say what other character such an individual will deserve*.---The writer is sensible that his language is strong, but he sees the times are critical. The nation must open its eyes, or they may be closed for ever. The fate of this country may at this moment be suspended by a hair finer than the spider's finest thread.

The Marquis of Rockingham will certainly never blame the calling out of that soldiery, for whose assistance he repeatedly sent; to whose assistance he was obliged for the preservation of his house and property, if, indeed, they were ever in real danger. It should be acknowledged, however, that, after using the soldiery as long as any danger lasted, he is reported, when all was quiet, to have written a letter to insist upon their removal, heroically declaring he would rather lose the last shilling of his property than owe its preservation to such instruments of tyranny.

* This was written on the 18th of June. The author sincerely hopes it never will apply to Englishmen.

During this state of every thing that was alarming and dreadful, the situation of the inhabitants of London and Westminster is not to be described. In Cromwell's days, in the worst of tumults mentioned by history, the public knew what they were to expect. A particular event was to take place, or was not to take place---one party must prevail, or another. Now, no one could set bounds to his fears. Mobs of Protestants, in opposition to popery; the possibility of popish mobs, in opposition to them; the specimens of the undistinguishing fury of the levelling banditti; every prison emptied; men sentenced to be hanged, turned loose on the public; apprehensions of drunken rioters, and sober housebreakers; the probability of having offended some miscreant, whose malice might point out your habitation to popular fury: all conspired to increase the terrors of individuals. More terrible never was the situation of any city. To read in the papers, or to be told in conversation, of the death of any person, ceased, during this interval of distress, to strike the same string of pity as usual. Something like a murmur, even of envy, was heard. The reader or the auditor involuntarily observed---
 "well---he is out of the way of these troubles."

Robberies were committed upon individuals; contributions were forcibly levied upon whole families, in open day. Newspapers, of a particular description, took care to keep the fears of a distracted people awake, by announcing tumults in various parts of the kingdom, and by informing the public how many thousand Cornish miners were on their march to
 London.

London*. In addition to all these sources of public and private dread, it was known, from the evidence of their having returned the fire of the soldiery in more places than one, that the rioters were provided with arms.---The phrase of our great poet has been worn almost to rags; but, if there ever was a situation which truly "beggared all description," it was that whereof the writer speaks.

In their designs upon Caen-wood the mob were prevented by a detachment of horse. They were not suffered to deprive a man, who certainly could have committed no sin with regard to the bill against which the protestants petitioned, of every piece of moveable property, and every habitation he possessed. It is even said, and it is more than possible, that Lord Mansfield's house in Bloomsbury-square might have been preserved, had his Lordship earlier in the evening procured the assistance of that soldiery, with the calling in of whom he, among the rest of his Majesty's servants, must now submit to be illiberally

* The printer of the Morning Chronicle, who has distinguished himself for the accuracy with which he conveys the debates to the public, deserves no common approbation for the even-handed moderation and caution which have uniformly marked his paper, throughout this whole melancholy business.—He was rewarded by having his house particularly marked out for destruction, and by being put into the horror of knowing, on Wednesday, that the mob were actually upon their march from the ruins of the King's Bench, headed by a man whose harangue to his followers was, "Now, my lads, for *Bridewell* " and *Woodfall's*—we can do them both under one." A contrivance of the gentlemen of Bridewell saved the Hospital. Mr. Woodfall and his family were only preserved from ruin by being forgotten. The mob went on to Mr. Langdale's.

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charged;

charged; or had the civil power, after the arrival of the soldiery, made earlier use of them.

This seems to be an opportunity, and the present is surely a season, to set the publick and the soldiery right with regard to a universal misapprehension which prevails respecting the true meaning and construction of the statute of 1 Geo. I, stat. 2, c. 5, commonly called the Riot Act. The civil magistrates, and the gentlemen of the military profession, have so often been hardly treated, and brought into difficulties in consequence of having acted with spirit and resolution, that they now carry their caution to an excess which the law does not require of them.

The statute of 1 Geo. I, stat. 2, c. 5, enacts generally, that if any twelve persons are unlawfully assembled to the disturbance of the peace, and one justice of the peace, sheriff, under-sheriff, or mayor of a town, shall think proper to command them by proclamation to disperse, if they contemn his orders, and continue together for one hour afterwards, such contempt shall be felony without benefit of clergy. And further, if the proclamation be by force opposed, or the reader be in any manner wilfully hindered from the reading of it, such opposers and hinderers are felons without benefit of clergy: and all persons to whom such proclamation ought to have been made, knowing of such hindrance, and not dispersing, are felons without benefit of clergy. And, by a subsequent clause of this act, if any persons, so riotously assembled, begin, even before proclamation, to pull down any church, chapel, meeting-house, dwelling-house, or out-houses, they shall be felons without benefit of clergy.

By

By the law of all countries, and of England among the rest, every subject, civil or military, present when any number of men violently attack the person or property of another, is justified in using force of any kind, immediately, for the protection of his fellow-citizen's person or property. He has the same right to defend another as himself. The peace is equally broken in both cases. No interposition of any magistrate is necessary to enable any man to do this. If I see a murderer, a highwayman, a housebreaker, or a man pulling down or setting fire to a house, I am not only justified, but required, to oppose such criminals by the utmost degree of force, even, by putting such person to death. This is the law of nature, of reason, of the world. An idea has prevailed that a body of military men may not attack with force of arms, a multitude of rioters actually destroying a house, unless the civil magistrate make proclamation, and wait for an hour, and order the attack. Now the Riot Act applies only to tumultuous assemblies that mean to perpetrate some destructive act, but by no means applies to those who are actually committing such act; therefore the barely continuing together for an hour after proclamation, without proceeding to do any mischief at all, is made a capital felony: but the same act says, that pulling down a dwelling-house, before proclamation, shall be a capital offence. The reading of the Riot Act is therefore plainly necessary, only in the case of a tumultuous assembly which threatens violence; but when such assembly proceeds to the actual commission of violence, it is not the intention, nor does it fall within

the expression, of the Riot Act, to impede for a single moment the suppression of it by any means whatever.

In a word, every man of sense, lawyer or otherwise, who has read and considered the Riot Act, must be convinced that a red coat makes no difference; that all the King's subjects, military or not, military, are perfectly justified in using the utmost force, without delay, against those who are actually pulling down, or setting fire to the house of a fellow subject; and that the civil magistrate, is no way necessary in such a case; but only in the case of a multitude who have not yet proceeded to such extremities.---If this be not strict law, the writer sincerely begs pardon of his readers---but, if it indeed be not, his understanding most egregiously misleads him.---This is mentioned as a well-meant warning to the populace. The writer does not make the law: he only informs his countrymen what he religiously believes the law to be.

About five o'clock on Wednesday morning, when the soldiers and their officer had been grossly insulted; and when the mob would not suffer the engines to play, in order to save the houses adjoining to Lord Mansfield's; after ordering the soldiers to fire over their heads, and then to discharge powder in their faces, the Justice gave the word to fire ball. Six or seven of the forwardest wretches were killed, and about the same number wounded. Half the slaughter, at the beginning of the evening, might have saved Lord M.'s house and property, the destruction of which his Lordship's greatest political enemies must allow will for ever stain the present times. The burning and

emptying

emptying of the prisons are crimes of a different nature, and are not new in the history of popular insurrections; but that the habitation of the supreme judge of the kingdom should be burnt and pillaged in the midst of this great city, is an event almost without precedent, and it is to be hoped will long remain a single instance of popular fury, brought about by some dark, designing villains, whom we must all assist to drag forth to light, and punish according to their deserts. How humiliating for this country is the reflection, that, amidst the dreadful outrages committed during the civil wars of France, and the usurped authority of the league, the persons and properties of the Chancellor L'Hopital, and the President De Harlay, were holden sacred and preserved, from a regard to their characters and functions; and that the President De Molé remained unmolested during the wars of the Fronde, although all of them were obnoxious to the ruling faction; while in the present period, and in the metropolis of the British empire, the house and property of the first magistrate were with impunity burnt and destroyed, and himself threatened and insulted by a daring and outrageous mob!

Nay, during the famous revolution in Portugal, Vasconcellos was the only wretch who experienced the fury of an enslaved nation. The archbishop of Braga, no less deservedly detested, suffered neither in his property nor his person. Even, when he rushed through the conspirators (if it be a proper term for those sons of liberty), with a drawn sword snatched from a soldier, to destroy Norogna for something disrespectful
he

he had said of the Vice-Queen --- still, not a hair of his head was hurt. Finally, when proved guilty, by evidence and his own confession, of a scheme to dethrone the Braganza family, and again to introduce Spanish tyranny, which he himself had planned in considerably more slaughter and destruction than the almost bloodless revolution had produced, and which every thing but succeeded---still, his punishment was only perpetual confinement.

Nothing like the insult offered to good order, humanity and law, in the destruction of Lord Mansfield's property, and the hue-and-cry after his life, is perhaps to be found in any pages of history, except in that which relates Massaniello's famous insurrection at Naples in the last century. Begun by an ignorant fisherman, kept alive literally by boys and the lowest of the vulgar, this insurrection indeed did burn and destroy the house of Antonio de Angelis, and all its contents; of which some, from the similarity of his profession, was no less inestimable than some of Lord Mansfield's property. But Antonio de Angelis was only a counsellor---he was not the supreme judge, and one of the most respectable characters of his country. He had not been thirty-eight years a law-officer---and twenty-four years chief justice. *

Part

* History has, for more than a century, been enquiring when Cromwell first beheld in vision the crown of usurpation. At what precise moment the seeds of ambition first struck root in his rich and fruitful mind.—Who, at this day, is able to answer enquiries, which Cromwell himself would be unable to satisfy? The writer will mention a fact or two, upon which, if his memory serve him right, no historian

Part of a speech delivered by his Lordship, when judgment was given on the reversal of Mr. Wilkes's outlawry, merits a place here for more reasons than its manliness and spirit. Popular clamour and discontents at that time ran very high. Mr. Wilkes was the idol of the public. Every determination in the courts of law which was not in favour of their patriot, not only gave offence to their high mightinesses the mob, but also induced many of them to threaten, that they would revenge the cause of a man, who, they said, had been injured and oppressed. "The threats," said his Lordship, "have been carried further. Personal violence has been denounced, unless we comply with public humour. I do not fear such threats. I do not believe there is any reason to fear them. 'Tis not the genius of the *worst of men* in the *worst of times* to proceed to such shocking extremities. But, if such an event *should* happen, let it be so; even such an event might be productive of wholesome effects; such a stroke might rouse the better part of the nation from

storian has hitherto dwelt. The reader may form his own reflexions from them.

The revolution in Portugal took place in December, 1640. What would, in Cromwell's hands, have been as complete a revolution in Naples, happened in July 1647.—The discontents in England grew alarming in 1641. In 1649 Charles was put to death. It was in 1637 that Cromwell, with Hazalrig, Hamden and others, was detained by order of council from setting sail for America, which has since turned out so fruitful of Cromwells (Mather's hist. of New England, book 1. Dugdale. Bates.)—In the literary world, evidence much weaker than this has convicted many an honest poet of downright plagiarism.

their

their lethargic condition to a state of activity, to assert and execute the law, and punish the daring and impious hands which had violated it; and those who now supinely behold the danger which threatens all liberty, from the most abandoned licentiousness, might, by such an event, be awakened to a sense of their situation, as drunken men are oftentimes stunned into sobriety. If the security of our persons and our property, of all we hold dear and valuable, are to depend upon the caprice of a giddy multitude, or to be at the disposal of a savage mob; if, in compliance with the humours, and to appease the clamours of such, all civil and political institutions are to be disregarded or overthrown, a life, somewhat more than sixty, is not worth preserving at such a price; and he can never die too soon, who lays down his existence in support and vindication of the policy, the government, and the constitution of his country."---His Lordship has lived to see these tumults, he did not then think human beings could have proceeded to such acts of violence. He has, however, unhappily experienced them, and in a manner that must excite the sensibility of every liberal mind. He has suffered all the rage and fury of a licentious mob, for a matter (since *opposition* had *certainly* no hand in the riots) in which his Lordship had *certainly* no sort of concern. He was not even present at the passing of the bill. But his is not a private loss---the nation at large---all posterity, perhaps, have sustained a loss, so much the greater as it is irreparable. This event, it is to be hoped, will be productive of the wholesome effect his Lordship

wisely

wisely said might be expected from such shocking extremities---It is devoutly to be hoped, *that it will rouse the better part of the nation to a state of activity, to assert and execute the laws.*

Upon the first serious alarm of these disturbances, government dispatched orders to various parts of the kingdom for the soldiery to repair to the metropolis: Had they sent for them sooner, what might we not have expected from the republican clamours of opposition? Still, it is forgotten that even the horse are not provided with seven-league boots; that sufficient time must be allowed for both horse and foot to reach London from the different places, some of them at great distance, where they were quartered; that, after they reach the capital, some interval must be allowed between a fatiguing march and fatiguing duty.---Had this, as more than common men in more than common conversation have dared to assert, been an insurrection caused by government (which was nearly destroyed by it), as an excuse for extending the royal prerogative by the assistance of the military power; the military power would have been kept in greater readiness for the purpose of carrying this ingenious scheme into execution. The accusation destroys itself. If the late mobs had been planned and conducted with no more cunning, contrivance and forecast, melancholy spectators would not be now flocking from all parts to see the effects of their fury.---The delay therefore of calling in the soldiery, with which government are now charged in proof of their remissness, should, with their loudest accusers, be an argument,

if the delay was intentional, directly in their favour. The fact, however, is, beyond a doubt, that the delay was not intentional. It was occasioned, most naturally, by the distance of the troops. Every place of consequence in the metropolis; every body of men; even individuals of all descriptions, Protestants and Roman Catholics, the opposers as well as the supporters of government---all applied for the assistance of the soldiery. Military tyranny had not then, no more than it has now, taken place. Government could not immediately answer every application with a party of soldiers. Hence complaints of information given of expected attacks which were not prevented by the soldiery.---There were not troops sufficient in the capital to defend half the places that were threatened. As fast as they arrived they were ordered upon the most necessary duty.

During this political earthquake several individuals must necessarily have distinguished themselves. The writer has names in his possession which he could mention; but there might be others, equally deserving, which have not reached him. Such conduct will find its silent way to praise; the self-approbation of such men will be no slender reward. They rescue a word of consequence from the mouth of faction; and *patriot*, when applied to them, is used in its proper sense; is not prostituted.

Yet, one individual forces himself upon notice. Mr. Wedderburn, the late Attorney General, merits every praise, every thank from his country, both for his public and his private spirit. The writer of this is not trammelled in the panegyrical language of dedica-

tion, but he did not intend (till an indelicacy struck him in dedicating a history of rioters to that judge by whom some of the rioters may perhaps be tried) to have prefixed the name of Loughborough to these pages. Who has so good a claim to the history of tumults as he who used every endeavour to quell them? His house in Lincoln's Inn Fields Mr. W. immediately fortified with the assistance of his friends, till the soldiery could be procured; and determined to convince the lawless levellers that the roaring torrent of popular fury could not expect to pursue its destructive course, and to overflow and sweep a whole country to ruin, without some obstruction. At the burning of the chapel in Duke-street, he had already eminently distinguished himself. The laudable associations which were now formed in the neighbourhood of Lincoln's Inn, and in Lincoln's Inn and the two Temples (whence the minds of the public, overcome at first by the suddenness of their danger, imbibed fresh spirits), if they were not originally suggested and set on foot by Mr. Wedderburn, were undoubtedly encouraged by his presence and advice, and inspired by his example.

Whatever mask may be worn, whatever character may be assumed, by the actors upon the great stage of the world, the individual is too often visible through all the disguise. At least, follow the benevolent man, the patriot, the hero, from the theatre of public affairs to their closets; and, without mixing, according to Condé's maxim, with their valets de chambre, the hero, the patriot, the benevolent man, too frequently

turn into characters with which the writer will not stain his paper.---Traitors there are to humanity, who, painting all their fellow-creatures from disgusting portraits of themselves, even insist, that, by whatever secondary wheel we may be kept in motion, the primary spring, by which every man, in every situation of life, originally moves, is *selfishness*. But surely if this diabolical idea, which excludes from the human breast the whole train of charities and virtues, was ever contradicted by the conduct of any individual, it has had the lie given to it by the disinterested conduct of Mr. Wedderburn. The honours which have been conferred upon him, since these troubles, every one knows; and none, but the blind and narrow-minded declaimers against the Scotch, object to them. These honours every one knew, for some time before the late troubles, were hovering over his head, and only, perhaps, waiting for the recovery of the Chancellor's health to settle thick upon him. What therefore (according to the selfish phrase) has he *gotten*, what could he expect to *get*, by his late commendable conduct? Nothing. The House of Commons, the courts of law he had already quitted; he had refused to take briefs, so certain was he of his preferment. There is every ground, therefore, for asserting, that, had Mr. Wedderburn not come thus boldly forward to face the danger with which the country was threatened; had he (like some others, who will not, who shall not, escape disgrace) determined the post of honour, or rather of safety, to have been a private station; had he retired to Mitcham, where

— *Ipsa*

———*Ipſa, procul diſcordibus armis,*
Fundit humo facilem victum juſtiſſima tellus---

he would indeed have miſſed the praiſe he now ſo richly merits, but he would not immediately have deſerved cenſure eminently ſevere ; ſtill he would have been crowned with his preſent honours, ſtill he would have been Lord Loughborough and at the head of the Common Pleas.---The writer muſt be at liberty to think he has pointed out to his countrymen one character, in one ſcene of life, free from ſelfiſhneſs, diſinter-eſted ; until he finds himſelf confuted by argument, or convinced by proof.

In the Temple a particular individual ſtood ſo prominently forth from among his companions, in the ſpirited preparations which the gentlemen ſo cheerfully made for its defence, that they can experience no paſſion, except a little honeſt envy, at the mention of his name. Mr. Mansfield would be ill-treated, if, in a narration like the preſent, his name ſhould be omitted.

The members of Lincoln's Inn, as well as indeed the members of all the other inns of court, moſt of whom affiliated (and of all the affiliations in general), deſerve the thanks and the praiſes of their countrymen. Conduct ſo ſpirited inſpired even the timid with ſomething which, for the time, answered all the purpoſes of courage : while it took from the inſurgents not a little of that appearance of reſolution, which was, in great meaſure, only the ebullition of cowardice ; or the natural effect of that hope of ſucceſs and non-reſiſtance, which they had been taught to believe,
and

and had flattered each other, they should universally find.

Against the Temple and Lincoln's Inn the rage of the populace was directed by something more than their levelling idea of destroying every public building.---To the Temple they were led by their thirst after the life of the Bishop of Lincoln. Having mistaken him (as is supposed) for some other bishop (since he was not a bishop at the passing of their hated act), when they almost murdered him at the commencement of their holy crusade; they now determined to rectify their mistake by obstinately persisting in it; by destroying his furniture, razing his house from the ground, and glutting their groundless vengeance with his life.---To Lincoln's Inn it was said they promised to pay a visit in order to demolish the chambers of Mr. Dunning, who (as the reader has seen) took an active part in support of the obnoxious bill.

Mr. Dunning sent away his papers and moveables of consequence to a place of safety; but, whatever was his real idea of danger, and notwithstanding his house at Putney, he was continually seen at Lincoln's Inn during the insurrection, if he did not remain there the whole time. This conduct might arise from anxiety about his chambers; it is not very probable it arose from anxiety about the safety of the society, since, notwithstanding the gentlemen of the Inn had armed themselves on his account, notwithstanding the Inn was filled with soldiers on his account (and, it is believed, at his request); either patriotism or prudence

dence kept him, throughout the whole business, though one of the first men in the Inn, from taking any part, civil or military, by advice or otherwise, in the defence of those who were in arms on his account---or rather in defence of himself. The Spartan band of warriors were only now and then encouraged by a sight of their Leonidas in the narrow pass of his own Thermopylæ, in the door-way of his chambers, chewing the cud of courage and reflexion ; and bending under the weight of his arms, like Robinson Crusoe guarding the first volume of his own history. Had this brave veteran been employed in defending his castle upon Putney-common, no one would have found fault with his absence from Lincoln's-Inn. But, when he voluntarily visited the field of battle, when he came forth to look on the face of war, it was expected from his known courage and bravery, and from the bold words, at least, which he had so often wielded in public, words which " had shaken the arsenal and thundered over Greece," that he would have taken an active part, that he would have claimed the post of danger, in a situation of danger, for which, if he deserved belief, he alone was to be thanked. Something of this kind was the rather expected by those who knew that Mr. Dunning had seen some service of no common nature, and to whom an anecdote, with which the reader shall be made acquainted, was familiar.

When Mr. Dunning was Solicitor General, he is said to have dedicated a few months, during one of the stated recesses from public business, to the still further enlargement

enlargement of his capacious mind by travel. Colonel Barré was his companion.

Europe they saw, and Europe saw them too.

Mr. Dunning's turn for military affairs, which has so manifestly displayed itself during the late campaign in Lincoln's-Inn, carried these illustrious travellers to Prussia, and, when in the dominions of Frederick, made them desirous of being present at a review of his troops by the first warrior of the age. To his Prussian Majesty's reviews at Berlin, to the manœuvres in Silesia, access is not of very difficult attainment. The grand exhibitions of war at Potsdam, about the end of September, are conducted with more secrecy, as they approach nearer to the reality of active service. His own subjects, more especially strangers are rigidly, and prudently, debarred the sight of them. Mr. Dunning, however, was more fortunate than most people. Fortunate, indeed, had he treasured up any of the Prussian manœuvres, which he beheld with fear and trembling, *et quorum pars magna fuit*; and had he added to his established reputation for bravery by at least communicating them to his military companions in Lincoln's-Inn!

By the assistance of his friend the Colonel, Mr. Dunning was admitted even into the arcana of these esoteric mysteries. Colonel Barré, at a kind of *table d'hôte*, in a tavern opposite the escurial, had been introduced to Colonel Quintus, the reigning favourite in Prussia, by his old friend Don Francisco Buccarelli, in an interval between two bumpers of Packeretti.

Mr.

Mr. Dunning was that day confined to his hotel, by a huskiness owing to his change of diet, and to some little intemperate indulgence over-night in a high dish peculiar to Spain, wherein the chief ingredient was Spanish chesnuts. Colonel Quintus, upon a visit from the English traveller, recollected their introduction to each other at Madrid, and was of Knight's service in the business. He spoke to two or three of the general officers, the affair was settled. And, now, behold Mr. Dunning and Colonel Barré, mounted upon two chargers lent them by two general officers, the friends of Quintus. Notwithstanding the extent of the ground, the strangers did not escape the keen eye of Frederick. Most probably the military appearance of Mr. Dunning drew his attention. Obadiah upon Mr. Shandy's docked-tail coach-horse, when he met Dr. Slop at the corner of the garden wall, was a fool to our hero. The king enquired who they were. Quintus begged his Majesty's pardon for disobeying his orders in introducing them; and informed him they were "an English colonel, et le Solicitor *General* du roi." Frederick said, if that were the case, he must show the English *General* something worth seeing; but he looked as if he thought we did not excel in our breed of Generals. The favourite manœuvres of the Prussian warrior are the changes of front, whereof the oblique order is always the basis, and the suddenly forming of it into columns on the right and left. The review on this day lasted longer, and was more complicate, than ordinary. Whether the king's eye can distinguish a legal from a military officer; or whe-

ther Quintus, to gratify his royal master, betrayed his learned friend ; cannot be known. Certain, however, it is, no mode of attack, ambuscade, retreat, or evolution was on that day omitted. Mr. Dunning's war-horse, in spite of all his learned rider's arguments, did his duty, like an old hunter, by a kind of intuition. Wherever the battle raged most fiercely, thither he conveyed the Solicitor General of England. His rider soon ceased to attend to any thing more than the preservation of his seat, by means of the charger's main, and the pommel of the saddle. It was a scene to set at defiance even the powers of a Hogarth. The whiskered grenadiers of Prussia could hardly sit their horses for laughing. After the tiresome duty of the day was over, his Majesty desired the foreigners might be introduced to him. Of Colonel Barré, as a military man, he took some trifling notice. Next approached Mr. Dunning, upon his charger, exactly in such a manner as the charger chose, *non indecoro pulvere sordidus*. "L'a-
"vocat du roi," said Quintus. "Hah," observed his Majesty (measuring the warrior from head to foot, which did not take him much time), "C'est un avocat."

At this moment his Prussian majesty has a man about his person, who is not cast in Nature's most military mould, to whom he gives the title of his Solicitor General.---That those of Mr. Dunning's friends, who were acquainted with this anecdote, should have expected something from him at this crisis, is far from strange.---

Return we now to the course of our narration.---
During this confusion every hour produced handbills
of

of the most inflammatory kind---accounts of the bloody massacres committed by the soldiers upon many hundreds of his Majesty's Protestant subjects now lying dead in the streets; lists of all the fooleries and villainies of the Roman Catholic religion; &c. &c. The effects of these were taken off as much as possible by papers of a different kind, distributed (as it seemed) by government, and by the friends of government.

On Wednesday, June the 7th, the House of Lords met in pursuance of their adjournment, and finding it impossible to do their duty, they adjourned to Monday; on which day things were not yet sufficiently quiet for them to proceed to business; so that they may be said, in fact, to have adjourned to Monday se'nnight, the 19th of June. To that day the House of Commons (who met on Thursday the 8th) did at once adjourn. On Wednesday the private committee sat to enquire into the causes of the riots. On Thursday, the day to which they stood adjourned, the House only heard the Lord Advocate's motion for their further adjournment to Monday se'nnight; and an account from Sir P. J. Clerke of the occasion of his being drawn by the populace, with Lord G. Gordon, in his Lordship's carriage, from Parliament-street to Mr. Alderman Bull's in Leadenhall-street.---He was obliged to beg Lord George's protection from the mob. His Lordship rescued him in his carriage. The mob took off the horses, and would not suffer him to quit the carriage.

Thursday's paper contained, many of them, what they chose to call "a speech intended to have been spoken by Lord Abingdon on the preceding evening,

had he not, on his going down, found the house, *to his astonishment*, risen." They could never have been authorized to have given a paper so intitled to the public, because a peer of parliament must know that the speech of a peer of parliament, whatever number of foul copies may have been made of it, should be delivered to the great council of the nation in parliament assembled, and not to noblemen, gentlemen and others, to liege subjects and rebellious rioters, through the channel of a three-penny newspaper.---Beside, this spurious speech most earnestly intreats the repeal of that Act, which a lawless mob had assembled before the houses of parliament to force the members to repeal. With what contempt is the conduct of the city of London viewed, whose common-council have voted a petition to the same effect since the suppression of the riots? On Wednesday the 7th the rioters were at their height. Would Lord Abingdon, on such a day, have been bullied into a repeal of an act of parliament? Would he have merited tenfold contempt by making such a speech on such a day?---Again, the speech says, "the military will not fight for us in such a case; and, if they do not," it asks, "what, my Lords, is to become of our country?" Insinuations of this nature could never have been sent to the public papers by Lord Abingdon (and, if the speech was intended to have been delivered by Lord A. it could only have been sent by his Lordship) at a time when the salvation of the metropolis depended literally upon the soldiery's fighting for us.---"I fear my Lords, there is at the bottom of all this disturbance the deep-laid scheme of a dark cabal to dissolve the

constitution of this country." This part of the speech, whether ever it was intended for the House of Lords or not, contains what most readers feel to be true.

On Thursday, June the 8th, some disturbances of no great consequence happened in the Borough, which were easily quelled by the soldiery. The arrival of more troops, both horse and foot, kept every thing quiet, and once more restored tranquillity to the affrighted public. Things by degrees returned into their usual channels. On Friday business commenced again in Westminster-hall.---Those, who, upon the appearance of such a numerous banditti, wondered whence they came; now expressed as much wonder whither they could be gone.---Many passages of life are in common conversation compared to a dream; these four or five days had really the appearance of one.

On this day (Thursday) was published a most humane and prudent proclamation, informing the public that it was "necessary to employ the military power," and that "the most direct and effectual orders were" issued to all officers, by an immediate exertion of "their utmost force to repress the tumults and insurrections." This was instantly reported, and considered, by many as a declaration of martial law. But it is not singular, when almost a whole kingdom had for so many years misunderstood, or not conceived the full meaning of, an act of parliament (the Riot Act), that discontented insurgents should misconstrue a proclamation which they had not taken time to study.

The

The proclamation, notwithstanding the outcry against it, not only does not establish martial law or any thing like it, but gives very little more power to the wearer of a red coat, than the wearer of a coat of any colour in the rainbow already possessed by the laws of his country, if those laws be rightly understood.

So universally was the origin of these evils traced, whether designedly or undesignedly on his part, to the unfortunate president of the Protestant association, that humanity gave place for a time to a meaner passion, and many, who were sufficiently composed to use their bottles and glasses, drank as a toast, "The Gordian Knot, and Alexander Wedderburn to cut it." ---On Friday evening, Lord George Gordon having been taken into custody at his house by two messengers, was committed close prisoner to the Tower; where we will leave him to the bitterness of his own reflections, and to the justice of his country. When he had been committed two or three days, he complained to the officer upon duty of the closeness of his confinement, and of the cruelty of not being suffered to see his dearest friend or his nearest relation. The officer appealed to his own good sense for the necessity of such confinement; but begged to assure him that, since he had been in custody, neither friend nor relation had once come to see him. The same evening the Lord Mayor underwent an examination before the privy council, in consequence, as it is said, of complaints preferred against him for gross inactivity during the riots by Mr. Foley and Lord Beauchamp. If we may credit report, the Lord Mayor did not do his character

rafter much service by his behaviour before the council, It is to be hoped an inquiry into conduct, like that of which he is so loudly accused, will not stop here.

On Saturday June the 10th was published a proclamation, offering a reward of fifty pounds upon the conviction of any of the rioters.

While the soldiery were rendering us these essential services at home, and two camps were forming in St. James's and Hyde parks, the winds were wafting to us a-cross the Atlantic intelligence of the brilliant success of our armies in another quarter of the globe. Thursday, June the 15th, saw the Earl of Lincoln arrive with such news from General Sir Henry Clinton as the writer will not repeat, because it will not speedily be forgotten by his countrymen. It spread such joy over the metropolis, that it almost drove from the recollection of its inhabitants the situation from which they had so lately escaped; a situation worse perhaps than that of the besieged inhabitants of Charles-Town.

It should have been mentioned, that there were attempts at riots in one or two provincial places, at Hull and at Bristol; but they were stopped immediately. At Bath a chapel, and two or three houses, were destroyed. The soldiery, however, quickly quelled the insurgents.---

The attention of every thinking man was now fixed upon Monday the 19th of June, the day on which both houses were to meet. The report that his Majesty would go to the house was heard by all with pleasure. On that day his Majesty met his parliament, and delivered the following manly and spirited speech from the throne.

“ *My*

“ My Lords, and Gentlemen,

“ The outrages committed by bands of desperate and abandoned men, in various parts of this metropolis, broke forth with such violence into acts of felony and treason, had so far overborne all civil authority, and threatened so directly the immediate subversion of all legal power, the destruction of all property, and the confusion of every order in the state, that I found myself obliged, by every tie of duty and affection to my people, to suppress, in every part, those rebellious insurrections, and to provide for the public safety, by the most effectual and immediate application of the force entrusted to me by parliament.

“ I have directed copies of the proclamations issued upon that occasion to be laid before you.

“ Proper orders have been given for bringing the authors and abettors of these insurrections, and the perpetrators of such criminal acts, to speedy trial, and to such condign punishment as the laws of their country prescribe, and as the vindication of public justice demands.

“ Though I trust it is not necessary, yet I think it right at this time, to renew to you my solemn assurances, that I have no other object but to make the laws of the realm, and the principles of our excellent constitution in church and state, the rule and measure of my conduct; and I shall ever consider it as the first duty of my station, and the chief glory of my reign, to maintain and preserve the established religion of my kingdoms, and, as far as in me lies, to secure and to perpetuate the rights and liberties of my people.”

The

The address of thanks was carried in both houses, without a negative. In the Lords the Duke of Richmond found much fault, and professed he should thereafter find much more, with the conduct of government; in consequence of information for which his Grace acknowledged his obligation to common newspapers. Lord Mansfield explained the law of England with regard to riots, in a manner which must have made most of his auditors reflect what a loss the country would have sustained had the Barbarians carried into execution their bloody purposes. An unaffected stroke of natural eloquence is said to have involuntarily escaped his Lordship, which must have dimmed, for an instant, the eye of every liberal, feeling hearer---“ My Lords, I shall not deliver my “ opinion from books; God knows I have none.” ---In the Commons Colonel Barré, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Fox, though they did not oppose the address, took care to qualify their assent to it. Mr. Burke seemed to overlook the grand traitors to our country, and to ascribe all the disturbances to a set of deluded fanatics.

Let Justice, with her slow but certain step, pursue the steady course of evidence, and we shall soon trace this turbulent torrent of popular insurrection to its fountain head. If the dry rock was originally struck by the magic wand of fanaticism; no sooner had the waters gushed forth, than they were swelled into a roaring stream by domestic treason and foreign villainy. True it is, that after the soldiery had been obliged to fire in Bloomsbury Square, a fanatic female

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daubed

daubed her hands with the blood of one of the wretches who fell, and besmearing the faces of those near her, " I conjure you," she exclaimed, " by the blood of those whom we have seen murdered in defence of our holy religion, not to stop while a Roman remains in England !" True it is, that two rioters were overheard in deep argument ; when one observed to the other, " Why, now, this American war. Is it not brother murdering brother, and protestant fighting against protestant ? And what is that but a popish massacre ?" Yet is it equally fact, that *Delenda est Carthago* was the word : that some of the rioters killed by the soldiery, were only disguised as low people ; that some of those in custody are certainly Roman Catholics : that foreign paper, to no inconsiderable amount, has very lately crossed the Channel : that strange stories are told and believed about the large sums of money produced and paid on behalf of the mob by men, to appearance, not worth six-pence : that on the Friday and Tuesday (the 2d and 6th of June) were seen in the Adelphi and Palace-yard, men in long blue gowns, disguised something like quack doctors' servants, who distributed, from large bags under their gowns, handfuls of halfpence to such of the rioters as chose to take them : that stands of arms have been secured either of French or Spanish make : that, strange as it may sound, something more than insinuations was hinted to some of the protestant subscribers, that, by indulgencies to the Roman Catholics, the King had broken his coronation oath ; and that the throne could not be better

better filled than by so firm a friend to religion as Lord George Gordon, who would allow no nobility, but would reduce all his subjects to one happy level. Another fact is curious, and undeniable---without any refinement in suspicion, or pretending to see quite a mile into the mill-stone, all must allow that there have been displayed throughout these convulsions, more of scheme, more of regularity, more of system, than have hitherto appeared in county associations the most violent. In this fact there is much opportunity for reflection. To reflection the reader now feels an inclination to be left. May his reflections be undisturbed by new alarms! May these convulsions (tho' who will answer for them?) be now altogether overpast! They authorize the writer to mention one internal danger that still hangs over us, which he seriously recommends to the attention of every individual---it perhaps would not disgrace the attention even of parliament. At a time when we are all convinced how narrowly we have escaped from the danger of foreign perfidy, no family, of any rank, should be suffered to retain in its service a foreign servant.

While every day brings to light the diabolical effects of these insurrections, let us not forget to rejoice over the good effects they have produced. Every individual, whether father, son, nephew, or brother, must experience sensations of happiness on the reconciliation of the royal family.

The reader will be surprized to know what the writer believes to be truth; that, notwithstanding Lord George's army of petitioners against Sir George Savile's

vile's bill, not a single additional popish school or seminary has been opened since the passing of the bill; and the number of priests have decreased twenty-three. No less surprized will he be to recollect, that the Sunday before this army of martyrs began their attack on the constitution, two of the first Roman Catholics in the kingdom (Lord Surrey and Sir Thomas Gascoyne) read their public recantations, which were known to have been in contemplation some time.

It is not the least extraordinary fact in the history of this business, that a modern Partridge should by accident have hit the blot so exactly. From "*Vox Stellarum*, or Francis Moore's Loyal Almanack for 1780," the writer transcribes the following observations on the present month of June :

" Latet Anguis in Herba.

" Whosoever doth but seriously consider the actions of this and the succeeding months (here being many signal aspects of the planets) shall find much of council therein, and probably as much of action follows in one kind or other — We may expect the discovery of treachery, dissimulation, and villainy in some great persons in many parts of Europe. We now live in those times that produce prodigious attempts both at home and abroad. Every man is apt to abound in his own sense. Some would arrive to a kind of prodigy in government, and endeavour to become cedars of state. But let such persons content themselves; for death and time will certainly cure their maladies, and convey them out of the reach of envy and contempt, which they cannot reasonably expect during life."

---And

---And here the writer, having described the blessed consequences of appeals to the people, leaves his readers to brood over them. Those now at a distance from the scene of public affairs, and those who shall hereafter be born at a distance from these times, will wish to know the present sentiments of Englishmen, with regard to the act which we are, beyond a doubt, primarily to thank for these disasters; though it is not meant to be suggested that the authors of the act ever intended them.

Thinking men seem to be divided into three classes. The most numerous are violent against the repeal of an act of parliament which has been attacked by riot, insurrection, and rebellion: they say it would be dubbing a lawless mob representatives of the people and peers of Parliament: Sir George Savile's bill grants the Roman Catholics no improper indulgencies; they are still, by other acts of the legislature, prohibited, upon pain of fine and imprisonment, from teaching schools, unless they be licensed by the ordinary, and subscribe a declaration of conformity to the liturgy of the church, and frequent the worship established by law. If they willingly say or hear mass, they forfeit, the one two hundred, the other one hundred marks, and each shall suffer one year's imprisonment: they must not keep arms in their houses, nor come within ten miles of London, upon pain of one hundred pounds; they may not travel above five miles from home, upon pain of forfeiting all their goods; and they may not come to Court, under pain of one hundred pounds; if any person
send

send another abroad, to be educated in the popish religion, or contribute to their maintenance when there, the sender, the sent, and contributor, are disabled to sue in law and equity; to take any legacy; to bear any office, and shall forfeit all their goods and chattels, and likewise all their real estate for life; where any person, having been a protestant, becomes reconciled to the See of Rome, or procures others to be reconciled, the offence amounts to high treason. This party strengthen themselves further by every liberal and captivating argument in favour of toleration.

A class of men, less numerous than the former, are for the repeal of the act: they say the riots are now over, and that those very riots were begun, or at least continued, by those Roman Catholics to whom this act grants indulgencies: that Roman Catholic is only another word for the natural enemies of our country, that to grant them indulgencies is to grant indulgencies to the French and the Spaniards. These arguments are backed, they say, by the opinion of Blackstone (4, 54), in the following passage. "As to the papists, what has been said of the protestant dissenters, would hold equally strong for a general toleration of them, provided their separation was founded upon difference of opinion in religion, and their principles did not also extend to a *subversion of the civil government*. If once they could be brought to renounce the supremacy of the Pope, they might quietly enjoy their seven sacraments, their purgatory, and auricular confession; their worship of reliques, and images; nay, even

even their transubstantiation. But while they acknowledge a foreign power superior to the sovereignty of the kingdom, they cannot complain if the laws of that kingdom will not treat them upon the footing of good subjects."

A third set, as is ever the case both in public and private, too cowardly to speak their real sentiments and stand the hazard of the throw, wish to have their timidity pass for caution, and pretend to recommend something between the two extremes. These dastardly trimmers form, it is to be hoped, the least numerous, they certainly form the most despicable class of the three.

All men of all descriptions, and all ways of thinking, who have perused Voltaire's chapter on *toleration*, call to their minds the following passage, and lament that the author should not deserve the praise of prophecy: "In Holland they no longer fear that the disputations of a Gomar, concerning predestination, should bring the head of a grand pensionary to the block; nor in London, that the quarrels between the presbyterians and the episcopals, about a form of prayer, and a surplice, should again spill the blood of their King upon a scaffold. Ireland will not any more behold its Catholic inhabitants sacrifice, as an acceptable offering, the lives of their protestant brethren. No! Such cruelties as these will never be imitated. Philosophy, the sister of religion, has herself snatched the poignard from the hands of superstition, so long bathed in blood; and the human understanding, recovered from its delirium, stands
amazed

amazed at the shocking brutalities into which it has been hurried by enthusiasm."---Thus much for these insurrections.

The reader, who shall be at the trouble of turning back to the beginning of those tumults in the reign of our first Charles, which ended in the subversion of the constitution, and in the tyranny of Cromwell, will see how much more serious and threatening were the tumults we have experienced, than those.---Let us then be upon constant guard against the dark designs of modern Cromwells and their followers; and let us use every endeavour to bring to justice the agents of France, Spain and America. Private friendship must give way to public safety. Bad men, for evil purposes, have long accustomed themselves to burst every dear and social tie---it is now time that every honest man, for the best of purposes, should forget he has any friend, any father, any brother, any wife, any child, but his country. Can an Englishman behold, unconcerned, the royal oak wither and decay? Can he sit still and see preparations made to consume it by fire? The axe of faction and national hatred is laid to the root of the tree. The moment is come when this venerable and antient constitution, beneath the branches whereof our ancestors have for so many centuries enjoyed shade and shelter, will either shake the nations with its fall to ruin; or, defended by our gratitude and our courage, will take stronger and deeper root, and spread its flourishing and everlasting arms around our childrens' children.

——— ——— Oh ! if chance thine home
Salute thee with a father's honour'd name,
Go, call thy sons, instruct them what a debt
They owe their ancestors, and make them swear
To pay it, by transmitting down entire
Those sacred rights to which themselves were born !

P O S T S C R I P T.

SHOULD this meet the approbation of the public, it will be followed by a short appendix, after the trials of all the rioters, and the final extinction of all the members of rebellion.---

From the very short space of time employed in putting this together, it is more than possible some errors may be discovered. Should they be material errors, the writer most sincerely begs pardon of any to whom they may relate ; nor has he any defence behind which to shelter himself, but the honesty of his intentions.-- Material errors or not, the writer will be exceedingly obliged to any reader who shall enable him to correct them.

22 June, 1780.

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APPEN-

A P P E N D I X.

IT remains to fulfill the promise made in the preceding Postscript; though Lord George has not yet been tried, and it cannot yet be said that rebellion is altogether extinguished *.

Curiosity will be pleased to know what passed in parliament during the short time they sat after these troubles. On Tuesday June the 20th, both houses went up with the addresses; after which the commons resolved themselves into a committee on the petitions against the Roman Catholic bill; Lord North, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and the Lord Advocate, spoke against the petitions---Mr. Ambler, and Sir P. J. Clerke, in favour of them. June the 21st, was spent by both houses in grammatical disputes concerning a correspondence between Lord Amherst and Colonel Twisleton. On the 22d, Sir G. Saville brought into the lower house a bill to amend a late act in favour of Roman Catholics, so far as it relates to schools. On the 29th, it was read a third time, and passed. July the 5th, it was thrown out by the Lords. One house of parliament, at least, determined not to be

* As this was never meant for a catchpenny publication, the account of the Scotch riots, given at some length in the former edition, is in this curtailed, that the addition of the appendix might not add to the price of the book.

bullied by a mob. Some of the noble Lords perhaps recollected part of the famous speech of Waller the poet, upon the agitation of the great question, whether Episcopacy ought to be abolished?---“ Some, I see, are moved with a number of hands against the bishops; which I confess rather inclines me to their defence: for I look upon Episcopacy as a counter-scarp, or the out-work, which, if it be taken by this *assault of the people*, and, withall, this mystery once revealed, *that we must deny them nothing when they ask it thus in troops*, we may, in the next place, have as hard a task to defend our property, as we have lately had to recover the prerogative.” With our patriots this orator should have some weight. He, too, was famous in his generation for speeches filled with hyperbolical complaints of imaginary grievances; speeches which disaffection and discontent regularly dictate. Political truth, as a truly great man observes *, is equally in danger from the praises of courtiers, and the exclamations of patriots.

Whether the British parliament employed its time to as much purpose as it might after these insurrections, posterity will determine. On Saturday the 8th of July, his Majesty prorogued it, with the following speech.

“ *My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

IT gives me great satisfaction to find myself able to determine this long session of parliament, that you may be at liberty to return to your several counties,

* Johnson's Life of Waller.

and attend to your private affairs, after so laborious a discharge of your duty in the public service; and I take this occasion to express my sincere acknowledgement for the fresh proofs you have given me of your affectionate zeal for the support of my government, and of your just estimation of the real and permanent interests of your country.

Your magnanimity and perseverance in the prosecution of this just and necessary war, have enabled me to take such exertions as will, I trust, by the assistance of Divine Providence, disappoint the violent and unjust designs of my enemies, and bring them to listen to equitable and honourable terms of peace.

These exertions have already been attended with success by sea and land; and the late important and prosperous turn of affairs in North America, affords the fairest prospect of the returning loyalty and affection of my subjects in the Colonies, and of their happy re-union with their parent country.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I feel myself under particular obligations to thank you for the large and ample supplies you have so cheerfully granted, and for the confidence you repose in me. No attention shall be wanting, on my part, to render them effectual, and to see them faithfully applied.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Let me earnestly recommend to you to assist me, by your interest and authority, in your several counties, as you have by your unanimous support in parliament,
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in guarding the peace of the kingdom from future disturbances, and watching over the preservation of the public safety. Make my people sensible of the happiness they enjoy, and the distinguished advantages they derive from our excellent constitution in church and state. Warn them of the hazard of innovation---Point out to them the fatal consequences of such commotions as have lately been excited : and let it be your care to impress on their minds this important truth, That rebellious insurrections to resist or reform the laws, must end either in the destruction of the persons who make the attempt, or in the subversion of our free and happy constitution."

It was the intention to have given a particular account of the trials of all the rioters ; but, such an account what reader would wish to peruse ? The writer is glad to escape from a task which appears as unnecessary, as it would certainly be unpleasant. Suffice it that, at the Old Bailey, 85 were tried for the riots, of whom 35 were capitally convicted --- at St. Margaret's-Hill 24 out of 50. Of those capitally convicted some were not executed. Those who suffered underwent the law as near as possible to the respective places where they had so outrageously violated it. The turn the passions of the public took on these executions was singular. Now was the moment for pity and for patriotism. " What a melancholy sight to behold so many poor deluded wretches put to death in " cool blood ! " A month had entirely wiped away all recollection of the horrors and cruelties of the riots.

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Those men, whose very wives and daughters sincerely wished, and loudly spoke their wishes, in all parts of the town, that the soldiers would in June put the riotous mob to death by hundreds without judge or jury, found humanity enough in July to declaim against a bloodthirsty government for hanging a dozen or two, after the laws of their country had deliberately found them guilty of being concerned in the mob, and many of being ringleaders. --- The truest patriot is not he who possesses or affects the finest feelings.

One thing the writer must confess. Notwithstanding what he thought last month, of which he is still persuaded, that the late insurrections might be traced higher than to chimney-sweepers and shirtleless apprentices, not much higher have they yet been traced. These are things, however, of which every one is persuaded, though they will not admit of legal proof. Hundreds of the inferior agents have hitherto eluded justice---the prime movers are more capable and more interested to elude her. Of those who exclaim the loudest against the malignant falsity of the present writer's insinuations, not a few know them to have truth for their basis. Should future historians be obliged to acknowledge that no distinguished character suffered for the rebellious insurrections in June 1780; they will ascribe it more to the good fortune or good conduct of some people, than to their honesty or their patriotism.

More was meant to have been said in this appendix, which has been said much better in Lord Loughborough's celebrated speech to the grand jury of Surry.

It cannot happen to many readers of this book to be better informed than his Lordship. By his Lordship's charge the writer is content that his book should be tried. With a copy of it he bids adieu to his readers.

31st JULY, 1780.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

IF, gentlemen, you came here totally ignorant of the transactions that have lately passed in this neighbourhood; if it were possible that you had neither seen nor heard of the devastation that has been committed not long ago, the remnants of the flames that must have struck your view as you came to this place, would immediately have declared to you the occasion of your being called together. His Majesty's paternal care for the welfare of all his subjects, would not permit him to suffer offences so dangerous and of such enormity, to remain without trial for a longer time than the law requires for assembling a jury of the county to enquire into them. The Commission, gentlemen, under which you are called together, extends only to crimes of High Treason or of Felony, committed by those who are, or who shall be, within the time described in that commission, in the common gaol of this county, charged with such offences.

It was not thought proper to blend the common business of an Assize, the enquiry into those crimes that the frailty of human nature is but too liable to commit, with crimes of so deep a guilt, and so much above the ordinary pitch of human wickedness, as those offences which will fall under your consideration.

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The general circumstances under which these crimes were committed, are of too great and too shameful notoriety : but it will be necessary for those who are to take into consideration the nature and the quality of the acts imputed to the several persons who will be brought before you as offenders ; it will be necessary for you to mark the several parts, in order to observe the connexion of those parts with the whole, and to determine upon the nature and quality of the acts imputed, upon a general observation of the whole circumstances of the case, applying those circumstances always to the particular parts which the different informations that will be laid before you will assign, to the several persons that are accused. I shall therefore think it part of my duty to endeavour to lay before you, gentlemen, in one view, a short account of those dangers from which this kingdom has lately been delivered. I make use of that expression, for it will clearly appear that it was not only the destruction of the property of individuals, or an attack upon the lives or fortunes of particular descriptions of men, but the evil was not intended to be partial. The blow that it hath pleased Providence to avert, was aimed at the credit, the constitution, and the very being of this state.

Gentlemen, the first remarkable circumstance that calls for your observation, is a large concourse of people assembled in St. George's Fields upon the 2d of June ; they were called together by an advertisement published in the name of a person stated to be the president of an association ; the advertisement was
 inviting

inviting the attendance of thousands of people, appointing signals by which they were to be distinguished, prescribing the order and course of their march, in several columns, to the place of their destination.

Charity will oblige us to suppose, that, of the persons thus assembled, there were many who came there unwarily, and unconscious of any evil intended; but it would be credulity, in the extreme, to suppose, that there were not some among them, who knew, who foresaw, who intended, and who practised to accomplish the purposes that were intended to be effectuated by that meeting.

Gentlemen, a short time disclosed, that one purpose of that assembly was to over-awe the legislature, and to obtain an alteration of the established law by force and numbers. There was a petition to repeal an act in which the petitioners had no special interest. To petition for the passing, or the repeal, of any act, is the undoubted inherent birth-right of the subject; but, under the name and colour of petition, to assume command over the legislature, is a dissolution of all government; and it is right to remind you, that fatal experience hath shown the danger of tumultuous petitioning in the outset of that unhappy contest which ended in a total dissolution of this government; and, among the first acts after the restoration of legal authority, was a law passed in the 13th year of the reign of king Charles II. which directs, that no petition for the alteration of matters established by law in church and state, not having previously obtained the approbation of the magistrates or of the grand jury, shall

be signed by more than twenty names, or delivered by more than ten persons.

In opposition to this law, a petition was signed and delivered by many thousands; and, in defiance of principles more important and more ancient than any positive law, the desires of this petition were to be carried, by the terrors of the multitude that attended it through the streets, classed, marked, and arranged as the advertisement had directed.

Gentlemen, this was the transaction which passed in this county; that concourse of people proceeded to Palace Yard, and to the avenues adjoining to the two houses of parliament; how the leaders demeaned themselves there, what was the conduct of the multitude to the members of both houses, it is not my intention to state, not that it may not be proper matter for your consideration in other parts of this business; my reason for avoiding it is, that the only purpose of my now addressing you is to inform you of facts so public that there can be no doubt upon them; and to convey that information to you in such a manner as to avoid every circumstance that may inflame where the application goes too directly to particular persons. For this reason I pass over in silence all that part of the transaction which cannot be related but in much stronger language, and in more indignant terms, than I choose, at present, to employ. In the close of that day the assembly dispersed from Palace Yard; many of them, undoubtedly, retired to their several dwellings; some there were, however, who remained, in order to shew, that the threats of the force of that multitude
which

which had invaded the ears of all who walked in the streets, were not fruitless, but were meant to be put in execution. When night fell, the houses of two foreign ministers residing at this court, from powers in amity with his majesty, were attacked; their chapels stripped, plundered and set on fire.

It is not possible, gentlemen, to avoid, upon that occasion, this obvious reflection: had such an outrage been committed upon the public ministers deputed by this state to reside in those countries, upon whom the imputation of bigotry may, with the most justice, be fixed, what horror, indignation and abhorrence, it would have excited in the minds not only of all our countrymen, who would have felt the honour of the nation injured by it, but of all the other parts of Europe unconcerned in the insult! that disgrace, however, was inflicted upon this country by one of the first acts that proceeded in the manner I have stated to you. Upon the next day, which was the 3d of June, there was a seeming quiet, a very memorable circumstance, for sudden tumults, when they are once over, are commonly at an end; but when they can cease and be revived again, it is impossible not to conceive that that argues something of settled influence and previous direction. The day that followed was the Sunday; a day, gentlemen, that by the laws of God and man is set apart, and kept inviolated by the works of honest industry; that day, however, there was a renewal of the works of lawless force and violence, in broad day light, before night had drawn a veil upon the transaction. Many buildings and se-

veral private houses in Moorfields were attacked, stripped of the goods, the furniture consumed in a bonfire in the public space of Moorfields, and all this done in the view of *patient* magistrates : Gentlemen, some magistrates there were, who had thought it their duty, upon the first breaking out of this tumult, to exert themselves in vindication of the laws : persons had been apprehended and committed by the exertion of individuals, and by the diligence of the magistrates, for the outrages committed upon the Friday evening. On the next day, which was the 5th of June, the Monday, those who had hitherto felt themselves under so little restraint, so little check, and in no degree resisted, thought it was a necessary part to accomplish, in the project that they might have, to shew that the law could not be exercised against any that had been in a like delinquency with them with impunity, the houses and property of magistrates, and of those officers of the peace, by whose means persons had been apprehended, it was the business of Monday to destroy, to pull down, and to set on fire.

Thus far matters had proceeded in no common degree of excess, but what I have hitherto related to you, is far short of what afterwards followed upon those two days, the Tuesday and the Wednesday, the 6th and 7th of June, that will ever remain a stain upon the annals of this time. Fresh insults were again offered to the members of the legislature, and toward the latter part of the first day, the Tuesday, all who were then in London will recollect that the town had the appearance of a city taken by storm ; every quarter
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of it was threatened and alarmed ; neither sex nor age, nor sanctity of character, nor eminence of station, nor even an honest but an humble obscurity, was suffered to protect men from the rage, fury, and malevolence of those who were spreading fear and terror in every quarter of the town.

But, Gentlemen, the attempts were not confined to the destruction of individuals, for in a very short space of time, one of the first general objects appears to be that, which all history and experience has shewn to be amongst the last efforts of the most desperate and abandoned conspirators, to break down the gaols, to set loose the felons, and to engage the guilty hands of desperate men, whose lives were forfeited to the law, in accession to the crimes they were about to perpetrate : this, gentlemen, was committed with success, after that the town was set on fire, and the flames applied to those buildings in different quarters, that were most likely to spread the conflagration to distant places ; the houses of distillers, and those who from the nature of their trade, contained upon their premises the greater quantity of combustible matter : that was not all, but in the midst of the horror and confusion, an attempt to prevent an extinction of the flames, by cutting off the New River water, an attempt to strike at the foundation of the credit of the nation, by an attempt upon the bank of England, were providentially defeated, but defeated under circumstances that left no doubt of an intention to carry them into effect, if it had not pleased God that the execution had been postponed to that period of the business.

business. During the very short space of these two days, the incredible activity of that band of furies, that walked through the town with flaming torches, had destroyed above seventy private houses, and four public gaols, one of which at least, seemed built to have withstood the efforts of armed force. Such is the detail of the acts that were done; I am not to omit, that while the outrages were committing, the name of religion, and of the purest and most peaceable description of christianity, the protestant religion was made the profane pretext for some of those violences that were committed; the pretext only, for I am sure there is not in Europe a man so weak, nor will there be found a person so uncandid, and so unjust to the character of the reformed churches, to suppose that any possible motive, even a false zeal by any possible perversion of human reason, could induce men to lay in ashes the capital of the protestant faith, or that any pretence of religion could at all have inflamed the minds of those, whose object was to destroy all private security, by setting loose all those who had been guilty of crimes against the peace of the country, and all public credit, by the destruction of the bank of England.

I have now, gentlemen, stated to you in one general view, the circumstances by which this calamity began, continued, and happily by the exertion of the efforts, to which we are ever indebted, of a gracious sovereign, was suspended for a time, at least appeared suppressed for the moment. It now remains that I should state to you what particular parts of this transaction

action will call more immediately for your consideration; and, from what I have said, it must be evident to you, that there may be persons, whose cases will be brought under your view, that are tainted with the guilt of high treason; for that the object was general, that the design was not of a partial or particular nature, that the mischief was not specifically aimed at the individuals who suffered, but had a deeper and a more extensive operation, it would be credulity to a degree to entertain a doubt; it is necessary, therefore, gentlemen, that I should state to you very shortly what the law is with respect to the species of treason, under which it is possible some of those cases that are connected with this strange and unparalleled outrage may be submitted to your consideration.

There are two species of treason which may possibly be applicable to their cases. If a man doth compass and imagine the death of our Lord the King, that is high treason. If a man doth levy war against the king within the realm, that also is high treason. The first species of treason, that of compassing and imagining the death of the King, is to be demonstrated by some overt act, as the means to effectuate the purposes of the heart: levying war, or conspiring to levy war, may be an overt act of that treason, but levying war against the king is also a distinct species of treason; and as from the general circumstances of this case, it is very possible that that may be the species of treason most applicable to the cases that may be brought before you, it is necessary that I should state to you more fully, and more distinctly, what the law has
said

said with respect to cases that fall under that denomination of crimes.

And, gentlemen, I am peculiarly happy to be able to state it to you, not from recollection, inferences or deductions of my own, which I am sensible might be liable to error, and in which the charge, or the inaccuracy of an expression, might lead to very dangerous mistakes; but I am enabled to state it to you from such authority, as the law itself speaks to you, and my mouth only pronounces the words of the law; for I shall state it to you in the very words of that great, learned, and able judge, Mr. justice Foster, that true friend to the liberties of his country; gentlemen, these are the words of Mr. justice Foster.---“ Every insurrection, which in the judgment of the law, is intended against the person of the king, be it to dethrone or imprison him, or to oblige him to alter his measures of government, or to remove evil counsellors from about him; these risings all amount to levying war within the statute, whether attended with the pomp and circumstances of open war, or not; and every conspiracy to levy war for those purposes, though not treason within the clause of levying war, is yet an overt act within the other clause of compassing the king's death; for these purposes cannot be effected by numbers and open force, without manifest danger to his person. Insurrections, in order to throw down all inclosures, to alter the established law, or change religion; to enhance the price of all labour, to open all prisons; all risings, in order to effect these
“ innovations

“ innovations of a public and general concern, by
 “ an armed force, are in construction of law high-
 “ treason within the clause of levying war; for
 “ though they are not levied at the person of the king,
 “ they are against his royal Majesty, and besides they
 “ have a direct tendency to dissolve all the bonds of
 “ society, and to destroy all property and all govern-
 “ ment too, by numbers and an armed force. Insur-
 “ rections likewise for redressing national grievances,
 “ or for the expulsion of foreigners in general, or in-
 “ deed, of any single nation living here under the
 “ protection of the king, or for the reformation of
 “ real or imaginary evils of a public nature; and in
 “ which the insurgents have no special interest;
 “ risings to effect these ends by force and numbers,
 “ are by construction of law within the clause of le-
 “ vying war, for they are levelled at the king’s crown
 “ and royal dignity.”

Gentlemen, in these passages it is unnecessary for
 me to select and to repeat, and enforce the particular
 parts that I observe have struck your attention; there
 are in several parts mention made of an armed force,
 and therefore it is necessary to state to you what in an-
 other passage of the same chapter the learned judge has
 said upon that subject; he refers to two cases, which
 were decided at a very memorable period towards the
 latter end of the reign of queen Ann, in which two
 persons, one of the name of Damaree, and another of
 the name of Purchase, were convicted and received
 sentence of death as in cases of high treason, upon the
 point of constructive levying war; having mentioned

the cases, he says, “ there was nothing there given in
 “ evidence of the usual pageantry of war, no military
 “ weapons, no banners, no drums, nor any regular
 “ consultation, previous to the rising; and yet, the
 “ want of these circumstances weighed nothing with
 “ the court, though the prisoners counsel insisted
 “ much on that matter; the number of the insurgents
 “ supplied the want of military weapons, and they
 “ were supplied with axes, crowes, and other tools of
 “ the like nature, proper for the mischief they in-
 “ tended to effect.”

Gentlemen, he adds another observation upon the cases of these two men; it is remarkable, that the two persons who were then tried and convicted for this species of high treason, were men, either leaders or set on as part of a mob that was gathered together; then likewise under the false and profane pretext of religion; the cry of that time was false, wicked and calumnious, that the church of England was in danger; the dangers pretended to be apprehended by some, and credulously believed by others, were dangers supposed to arise from that just and humane indulgence, that the law, from the time of the Revolution, had shewn to Protestant Dissenters. The objects of the fury of the mob at that time, were the meeting-houses of protestant dissenters, countenanced and supported by the toleration act; the deluded persons that were inflamed and led on to destroy these meeting-houses, are considered by the learned judge, (whose words I have just quoted) as having declared against the act, and having attempted to render the

act ineffectual, by numbers and open force, and upon that ground he states the condemnation to have legally proceeded; he says, “since the meeting-houses
 “of protestant dissenters are by the toleration act
 “taken under the protection of the law, the insurrection in the present case was to be considered a
 “a public declaration by the rabble against the act,
 “and an attempt to render it ineffectual by numbers
 “and open force.” The principles, therefore, that are stated to you by the learned judge, with such clearness and force, as carry with them conviction, are confirmed by that case, that not only had the sanction of all the judges, at the time when judgment was pronounced upon them, but have had the uniform approbation of posterity from that time to this; and the principles I have thus delivered down to you are necessary for the safe-guard and preservation of that excellent constitution, which we cannot but feel the value of, at an instant so near to that in which we had great reason to apprehend the total dissolution of it.

Gentlemen, the kalendar points out, that there are a number of prisoners, who, according to their commitments, may be indicted before you, either for the burning and pulling down, or for the setting fire to and riotously beginning to pull down the King's Bench prison, the House of Correction, some other public buildings, that I need not particularly state, and nine private dwelling-houses in this county; there are others who are committed for breaking open the county gaol, and setting the prisoners loose; there are

besides, some who are committed for different robberies, by extorting money or goods, under the terror of the mob, from different persons who were remaining in their dwellings, or in the street. These are the several cases of felony that will probably be offered and submitted for your consideration; and, I am sensible, gentlemen, that I need say little to you upon the subject of these felonies; there are many of you who professionally are conversant with the general principles of law, and all the gentlemen that I have the honour to see, are by their rank and station in life undoubtedly instructed in the general principles of that law, which is commonly dispensed in the course of the execution of criminal justice at every assize throughout the kingdom. I will just mention to you, that as to these offences, burning the house, or out-house, being parcel of the dwelling-house, though not contiguous or under one roof, is at common law a felony, and the benefit of clergy is by the statute taken from this offence; therefore it is a capital one, though the house should not be burnt down; yet to set fire to any house, barn, or out-house, and it is not necessary that it should be with force, or by persons armed or disguised, but merely to set fire to any house or out-house, is a capital felony, by an act of the 9th Geo. I. chap. 22. To begin to pull down any dwelling-house or out-house, by persons riotously assembled to the number of 12 or more, is made a capital felony, by an act of the first year of his Majesty King George I. chap. 5. which is commonly known by the name of the *Riot Act*; and having mentioned that

that act, it is necessary that I should say a few words upon it.

I have mentioned to you those cases that were decided in a period very near to that in which this act passed, the two cases of the persons who were convicted of high treason, for assembling to pull down protestant meeting-houses; the same pernicious and dangerous spirit, that by the worst arts of faction had been instilled into the lowest of the people towards the close of the reign of Queen Ann, by great artifice, and by a repetition of the worst practices of faction, had been still kept alive in the minds of some discontented persons; and if we did not see the strangest perversions of reason, and the strongest inconsistencies prevail, where men are beyond the guidance of reason, it would be a matter of utter astonishment; but it is no less true than astonishing, that what was falsely miscalled a protestant mob in the beginning of the reign of King George the First, was a mob trained, excited, and employed against the protestant succession. At mug-houses, and in every lurking corner and alley in this metropolis, and in other towns, the enemies of this constitution and of the protestant succession, were, under the false colour of religion, gathering mobs to attack the government, and to resist the happy and fortunate establishment, the confirmation of our rights and liberties secured at the Revolution; to prevent that, an act was framed, not new, but framed upon the analogy, and in some respects the words of former statutes; the effect of that act was to give a further protection to the civil authority of the

the state, by making the beginning of mischief dangerous to the perpetrators of it, and subjecting those whose crimes might be checked at a period, fortunate for the state, to a punishment, that the boldness of their attempt, and the guilt of their design, well merited; for that purpose, though the mischief is not perpetrated, though the house is not pulled down, the beginning to pull down, if it is under the circumstance of a force of a collection of persons riotously assembled, to the number of twelve or more, is justly made a capital felony: There are other parts of this act, by which persons who are riotously assembled, are, upon requisition of the magistrate, directed to depart, and if they do not (after the proclamation made), depart, the statute then, (the space of an hour elapsed) declared them guilty of a capital felony, and that capital felony consists on the continuing together, riotously assembled for the space of an hour, after proclamation made to depart.

Gentlemen, that is the provision that the act made, in order the better to support the civil authority; but it was not the intention of the legislature, nor is it the effect of the operation of the act during the space of an hour, from the time of the proclamation, to disarm the civil authority, or to oblige the King's subjects, whose duty it is to quell the riot before the proclamation made, instantly after proclamation made at any period when the riot can be quelled, to oblige them to remain patient and tame spectators of a number of people assembled together, in defiance of the law and in breach of the peace; it adds to the offence

offence the additional circumstance of creating a capital felony, upon their continuing together an hour; but it is a fatal mistake, and I thought it necessary, having occasion to mention the act, to take this public opportunity of stating that mistake, to suppose that nothing can be unlawful till the hour is elapsed, and that the meeting is not attended with all the circumstances of an unlawful meeting, and that therefore the civil authority is suspended and disarmed during the hour; the statute says no such thing, it leaves them in all the power that they (as civil magistrates) were possessed of before.

I mention this rather for general information, than for your particular instruction; because that part of the statute will not come, on the present occasion, under your consideration; for fame has not reported that, even in any case, the proclamation has been read; but you are to consider that part of it by which to begin to pull down any dwelling-house or out-house by persons riotously assembled, to the number of twelve or more, constitutes a capital offence. Gentlemen, in all these cases which I have stated to you, the burning a house, the setting fire to a house, the pulling down, or the beginning to pull down; the being present, aiding, abetting, and encouraging the immediate actors, though no act is proved to be done by the party himself, is equally criminal, and subjects him, in the same degree, to the punishment of the law: that has been the consonant and established opinion of the judges, upon the construction of these statutes, solemnly delivered upon the late occasion;

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not that I know they were ever doubted, or supposed to be otherwise; the being present, aiding, abetting, and encouraging the actors of the immediate violence, though no act is proved to be done by the party, but only his aiding, assisting, encouraging, and presence, constitutes his degree of guilt, and incurs the capital felony created by the statute. Gentlemen, the taking against the will of the owner, under the terror of arms, and therefore under the terror of the mob, goods and money, is undoubtedly a robbery. I have, therefore, just gone through those several matters which the kalendar makes it probable may be presented to your view; of all these offences you, gentlemen, are to enquire for this county, and make true presentment. And when I consider the character of the gentlemen I have the honour to address, how highly they are valued, and how justly esteemed by their country, all admonition, on my part, will be totally superfluous. In you, gentlemen, the public have long placed, and I am certain, upon this occasion, will have no reason to regret that it has placed, the utmost confidence that it can repose in any part of its fellow subjects; your part, however, is only upon the evidence presented to you, on the part of the accusers, to determine whether the party accused stands so probably accused, that you ought to send him to take his trial before another jury of his country; whose province it is, upon hearing the evidence on both sides, to pronounce that he is guilty, or that he is not guilty; you find, only, that there is ground to put him upon his trial; in the course of that trial,

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if there shall be any advantage to be derived from the nicety and caution of the law ; if there be any circumstances of alleviation of the guilt of the party, it will appear as much the inclination, upon this occasion, as it is the duty upon all, and the constant practice of, the reverend and learned judges, who are joined with me in this commission, to point out all can, in justice, favour the prisoner, and to lay the proper weight upon all the circumstances that can fairly alleviate the offence ; and, after all, if the sentence of the law shall pronounce upon the guilt of the prisoner, he may still have recourse to that fountain of mercy, the royal breast, where justice is always tempered with clemency.

These, gentlemen, are the advantages ; this is the protection that a government of law affords to all, undistinguishing, indifferent, equal to the just and to the unjust ; a government founded upon laws will hold out that protection, and give the full benefit of those laws, even to those who are accused of an attempt to subvert that government, and to deprive their fellow subjects, and their posterity, of the benefit of that constitution for ever.

The excellency of the law, the blessing of that constitution, and the admirable form of this government, cannot be better proved than by administering upon an occasion which so directly calls up the minds of all men, sentiments of love, veneration, and affection for that government ; by administering to all men indifferently the equal benefit of those laws : they are the protection of the subjects, they are the safe-

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guard

guard of the righteous; but they are, at the same time, not a protection, not a safeguard, but they are at least a city of refuge for the guilty---They may have recourse to them; they may claim the benefit of that sanctuary: they will have all the effect when they are administered by those who compose the grand jury; by those who, on the part of the country, compose the jury who are to try the prisoner---they will have all the effect that reason, justice, and humanity, require them to have.

A list of all the prisoners tried for being concerned in the late riots.

Tried at the Old Bailey.

[The names of the persons executed are in Italic.]

1. William Lawrence, at Sir John Fielding's in Bow-street, respited.
2. *Richard Roberts*, do. guilty, executed July 12.
3. George Kennedy, at Mr. Macartney's, baker, guilty, respited.
4. *William McDonald*, at Mr. Lebarty's, in St. Catharine's-lane, guilty, executed July 11.
5. *Mary Roberts*, at do. guilty, executed July 11.
6. *Charlotte Gardiner*, at do. guilty, executed July 11.
7. George Turner, at do. acquitted.
8. Thomas Downs, at do. acquitted.
9. *James Henry*, at Mr. Langdale's, Holborn-bridge, guilty, executed July 12.

10. James

10. James Iron, at do. acquitted.
11. ----- Moody, at do. acquitted.
12. ----- Timfon, at do. acquitted.
13. Richard Wilfon, stealing at do. single felony.
14. Robert Cubbidge, do.
15. Sarah Hyde, do.
16. William Vanderbank, do.
17. Thomas Prior, do.
18. James Prior, stealing at do. acquitted.
19. John Ellis, at Mr. Cornelius Murphy's in Golden-lane, acquitted.
20. Thomas Chambers, at do. acquitted.
21. Joseph Markefs, at do. guilty, respited.
22. James Bulkley, at do. guilty, respited.
23. *Benjamin Waters*, at do. guilty, executed July 23.
24. Sufannah Clarke, at do. acquitted.
25. Thomas Leeves King, at Mr. Donovan's, in Broad-street, acquitted.
26. Thomas Cocken, at do. acquitted.
27. Edmund Howarth, at do. acquitted.
28. Thomas Hall, at Mr. Cox's, in Queen-street, acquitted.
29. William Avery, at do. guilty, respited.
30. *William Pateman*, at Mr. Charlton's, Coleman-street, guilty, executed July 11.
31. Mr. Mafcal, at Lord Mansfield's, acquitted.
32. *John Gray*, at do. guilty, respited, but executed July 22.
33. *Charles King*, at do. guilty, executed July 22.
34. Letitia Holland, at do. guilty, respited.
35. David Evans, at do. acquitted.

36. Elizabeth Trimming, stealing at do. acquitted.
37. Elizabeth Grant, do. at do. acquitted.
38. Edward Dennis, at Mr. Boggis's, Little Turnstile, guilty, respited.
39. Stephen Tickham, at do. acquitted.
40. *George Staples*, at Mr. Malo's, Moorfields, guilty, executed July 21.
41. *John Gamble*, at Justice Wilmot's, Bethnal-green, guilty, executed July 20.
42. *Enoch Fleming*, at Mr. Schomberg's, Woodstock-street, guilty, executed July 13.
43. John Morris, at do. guilty, respited.
44. Richard Foster, at do. guilty, respited.
45. James Wilson, at do. acquitted.
46. Richard Lee, at do. acquitted.
47. John Free, at Justice Hyde's, acquitted.
48. Charles Blackburne, at do. acquitted.
49. George Randall, at Mr. Lynch's ; and Mr. Lyons, guilty, acquitted.
50. John Beal, at do. acquitted.
51. John Burgefs, at do. respited.
52. Edward Millar, at do. acquitted,
53. *Samuel Solomons*, at Mr. Connor's, guilty, executed July 20.
54. John Barret, at do. acquitted.
55. Jemima Hall, stealing at ditto, single felony.
56. Margaret Stafford, stealing at do. single felony.
57. ——— Rowley, at the Fleet Prison, acquitted.
58. Benjamin Bowfey, at Newgate, guilty, respited.
59. Francis Mockford, at do. guilty, respited.
60. Thomas Haycock, at do. guilty, respited.

61. John

61. John Glover, at do. guilty, respited.
62. Richard Hyde, at do. acquitted.
63. *James Jackson*, at do. guilty, executed July 20.
64. George Sims, at do. acquitted.
65. ——— Crubshaw, or Bradshaw, at Mr. Ines's, acquitted.
66. David Wilson, at Mr. Dowdey's, acquitted.
67. John White, at Mr. David Miles's, acquitted.
68. Peter Drew, at do. acquitted.
69. Benjamin Rue, at Mr. Waterhouse's, acquitted.
70. James Watts, at Mr. M'Cartney's, acquitted.
71. Theophilus Brown, at the Romish chapel, Moorfields, guilty, respited.
72. George Simpson, at the chapel in Duke-street, acquitted.
73. *James Burn*, at Mr. Bradbury's, Golden-lane, guilty, executed July 21.
74. *Thomas Price*, at do. guilty, executed July 21.
75. John Thompson, at do. acquitted.
76. *Jonathan Stacey*, at Mr. Dillon's, Moorfields, guilty, executed July 21.
77. Francis Murray, at Mr. Maberly's, acquitted.
78. Abraham Davis, at Mr. Becket's, acquitted.
79. Abraham Dawson, at Lord Mansfield's, acquitted.
80. Luke Hand, at Mr. Gerrard's, acquitted.
81. *Thomas Taplin*, extorting money from Mr. Mahon, guilty, executed July 12.
82. *William Brown*, extorting money from Mr. Daking, guilty, executed July 11.

83. George Banton, extorting money in Holborn, guilty, respited.
84. Thomas Morris, extorting money in Holborn, acquitted.

Nineteen executed.

Sixteen respited.

Tried in Surrey, at St. Margaret's Hill.

[Those marked †, ordered for Execution.]

1. Joseph Lovell, guilty, at Mr. Conolly's, Tooley-street.
- † 2. Robert Lovell, guilty, do. and at Mr. Walfh's.
3. William Heyter, guilty, at Mr. French's, East-lane.
4. Charles King, guilty, at Mr. Conolly's.
5. Ambrose Lane, acquitted, do.
6. Thomas Frederick Dawson, acquitted, at Mr. French's.
7. Sarah Harwell, acquitted, at Mrs. Cume's.
8. Elijah Harwell, acquitted, do.
9. Judith Sweeny, acquitted, at Mr. French's.
10. John Marnes, acquitted, do.
- † 11. Edward Dorman, guilty, at Mr. Primary's, Kent-street.
12. Thomas Murray, guilty, do.

13. Henry

13. Henry Wadham, guilty, do.
- † 14. Mary Cook, guilty, do.
15. Sufannah Howard, guilty, do.
16. Samuel Lyman, guilty, do.
17. William Simpson, acquitted, do.
18. John Hyde, guilty, do.
19. William Smith, acquitted, at Mr. Conolly's and Mich. Cafey.
20. Benjamin Rowland, guilty, at Mr. Lawrence Walth's.
21. John Berry, acquitted, do.
22. G. Fletcher, guilty, do.
23. William Inbest, guilty, do.
24. Samuel Jordan, guilty, do.
- † 25. Oliver Johnson, guilty, do.
26. Richard Millar, guilty, do. and at Mr. Lacey's, Kent-street.
27. James Palmer, guilty, do.
28. John Quinton, acquitted, do.
- † 29. Eliz. Collins, guilty, do.
30. John Davis, acquitted, at Mrs. Cooper's.
31. Thomas Smith, acquitted, do.
32. John Harrington, acquitted, do.
33. Theodore Atkinson, guilty, do.
34. John Barton, guilty, at Mr. Dodd's, in the Mint.
- † 35. Henry Penny, guilty, at Mrs. Cooper's.
- † 36. John Bridport, guilty, do. and at Mr. Lacey's.
37. Joseph Haynes, acquitted, at Mr. Conolly's.
38. Lawrence Scofield, guilty, do.
39. James Taylor, acquitted, at Bridewell.
40. Daniel Brooks, acquitted, at Mr. Conolly's.
41. John

41. John French, acquitted, at King's Bench.
42. William Saunders, acquitted, do.
43. Caleb Humphrey, acquitted, do.
44. Thomas Hollman, acquitted, do.
45. Samuel Norton, acquitted, do.
46. Edward Richardson, acquitted, do.
47. William Cole, acquitted, do.
48. Thomas Bush, acquitted, do.
49. John Gaustry, acquitted, at Mr. Conolly's.
50. James Taylor, acquitted, at Mr. Benson's.

Seven ordered for Execution,

Seventeen Respited.

THE END.



